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Copy of the Names
OF ALL THE
Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials
WHICH HAVE BEEN SOLEMNIZED
IN THE
Private Chapel of Somerset House,
STRAND, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.
EXTENDING FROM
1714 TO 1776;
With an Index and Copious Genealogical Notes.



LONDON:
Printed for and Sold by JAMES COLEMAN,
GENEALOGICAL AND HERALDIC BOOKSELLER,
22, HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.,
1862.

DEDICATION.

To the Lovers of Genealogy and all who desire to rescue from oblivion
any Genealogical facts.

I humbly dedicate this copy of the Names of ALL the Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, many of them being those of Eminent Persons, which have been solemnized at the CHAPEL of SOMERSET HOUSE, from 1714 to 1776, the commencement and end of the Registers.

There can be no doubt the fact of the Chapel having been a Private one, and the Registers Private also, has occasioned much loss of time, and in some cases created a difficulty, in proving the Pedigrees of the parties herein named. The Chapel was shut up in 1777. It was removed to carry out improvements in 1790.

The Notes between brackets will be found interesting as well as authentic; having been supplied to me by an ACCURATE GENEALOGIST.

A Strictly Alphabetical Index is added.

It is hoped this little work will be as useful to others as it has been to

Your Very Obedient

Servant

JAMES COLEMAN.

MARRIAGES

IN

Somerset House Chapel.



1714 Joseph Baker, married to Mary Brough.

A blank.

1718 John Knapp, to Mary Wright.
Charles Selwyn, to Mary Hublon.

[He was M.P. for Ludgarshall, co. Wilts., and died 9th June 1749 s.p. She was dau. of — Cook and widow of — Houblon, and buried at Hampstead, co. Middx.]

July 7th Sir Edward Desbouverie, to Mary Smith.

[He was the 2nd Bart. and died 1736, s.p. she was the youngest dau. and co-heir of John Smith, esq. of Beaufort-buildings, Strand, and died Jan. 1721, both buried at Britford, near Salisbury.]

James Mathews, to Sarah Humphries.

John Langham, to Mary Kempstor.

Thomas Wren, to Rachel Walker.

Thomas Grimes, to Ann Rippon.

Henry Stephens, to Lydia Salter.

1718 Jonathan Tempest, to Mary Fleetwood.

Blank.

1719 George Allestry, to Ann Soley.

John Wightwick, to Mary Gird
May 27 Simon Peter, to Ann Greygoose.

James Roth, to Christiana Swayney.

John Ravenhill, to Catherine Dansey.

[He was of co. Hereford and she dau. and sole heir of Wm. Dansey, of Brinsop, in the same co., by Elizabeth dau. and coheir of Sir Francis Russell, of Strensham, bart.]

George Bincks, to Dorothy Shelley.

Ellerker Bradshaw, to Rebecca Northey.

[Dan. of Sir Edward. Northey, knt. Attorney General to Q Anne; marriage settlement dated 21 & 22 July 1719; he was of Risby, co. York, being only son and heir of Sir James Bradshaw, knt. by Dorothy, sister and heir of John Ellerker, of Risby aforesaid. He died 28th June, 1742, aged 62, leaving no surviving issue. She died 25th July, 1770.]

- 1719 George Rolfe, to Magdalen Hargrave.
Theodore Johnson, to Mary Jones.
John Day, to Rebecka Bryant..
- 1720 Thomas Grimes, to Henrietta Maria Howell.
William Cowper, to Mary Gough.
- July 3rd. Thomas Wentworth, Esq. to Elizabeth Lord.
Stephen Hobbema, to Jane Lup-ton.
Thomas Milles, to Ann Cutts.
Charles Hedges, to Catherine Tate,
[He was of Finchley, co. Middx. esq. and she one of the co-heirs of the Barony of Zouch, being dau. of Bartholomew Tate, of Delapre co. Northampton, esq. he died April, 1756, she survived her husband and was grandmother of Cecil Bisshopp, Lord Zouch.]
- John Joyens, to Martha Reeve.
- 1721 Charles Bawden, to Bethia Thornton.
Robert Pritchard, to Phebe Clark.
(Signed) Richard Synge, *Chaplain*.
Herbert Perrot Packington, to Elizabeth Conyers.
[He succeeded his father in 1727 as 5th bart and dying at Leyden 1748 was there buried. She was the dau. of John Conyers, of Walthamstow, co. Essex, married June, 1721, and was buried at Hampton Lovet, 14th July 1758. Their granddaughter Elizabeth, married Wm. Russell, esq. of Powick, whose son assumed the name of Packington, and was cr. a bart. in July, 1846.]
- 1721 Edmond Morris, esq., to Ann Campbell.
Harry Mander, *Clerk*, to Elizabeth Chandler.
Sept. 19th. Wm. Northey, esq. to Abigail Webster.
[Only dau. of Sir Thos. Webster bart. of Battle-Abbey, co. Sussex. He was son of Sir Edward Northey, kn. Attorney-General to Queen Anne, and was of Compton Bassett, Wilts. Died 10th Nov. 1738 aged 48 leaving issue.]
Thos. Hannam, to Martha Geering.
John Knapp, to Ann Bendishe.
Michael Parry, to Elizabeth Cook.
- Dec. 21th Peter Chester, S.T.P., to Sarah Webb.
James Ashton, to Margaret Sherman.
Charles Sambridge, to Frances Speed
James Nicholson, to Ann Evans.
- 1722 Richard Stainsby, to Margaret Turner.
Henry Neale Dutton, to Elizabeth Miller.
Wm. Lucas, to Mary White.
John Bennington, to Margaret Thomas.
Thomas Bromley, to Hester Chatteverre.
George Goking, to Mary Colmore.
Felix Calvert, to Mary Calvert.
[Mary, dau. of Felix Calvert, of Hunsdon Herts mar^d. 6th Feb. 1723]

Felix Calvert, of Albury Hall, in that co. He was buried there 6th May, 1755, and she 26th May, 1757; being ancestors of Sir Harry Calvert cr. a bart., 1818.]

Peter Calvert, to Honour Calvert.

[Dau. of Felix Calvert, of Albury Hall, Herts.esq. married 14th Feb. 1723, Peter Calvert, of St. George's Hanover Sq. and had issue.]

William Nichols, to Hester Darvill.

1723 April 2nd. William Strickland, esq., to Catharine Sambrook. May 28th. Richard Harcourt, esq., to Elizabeth Banastre.

[See this match in Edmonson's Baronagium, Vol. 3, p. 281.]

John Rey, to Mary Thwaites.

Samuel Long, to Mary Tate.

[Second dau. and eventually co-heir of Bartholomew Tate, of Delapre, co. Northampton, esq. marriage licen. dated 17th Sept. 1723, at Vic. Gen. Office; he was of Longueville, in the Island of Jamaica; died 12th Jan. 1757, aged 56 and was buried there. She died 16th June 1765 age 63 and was buried in Bristol Cathedral; leaving issue.]

Richard Arney, to Mary Ladyman.

Thomas Valentine, to Mary Marsh.

Clement Wearge, esq., to Elizabeth Mountague.

[He was afterwards Sir Clement Wearge and Solicitor-General; he died in St. Clements Danes, 6th April 1726.]

Oct. 10th. Nicholas Fazakerly, esq., to Ann Lutwyche.

[He was a barrister of the Middle

Temple, and M.P. for Preston. co. Lancashire; she was dau. of Thos. Lutwyche, of Lutwyche, and mother of the Countess Gower; he died 26th Feb. 1767, she died July, 1776, both buried at the Temple Church.]

Richard Merry, to Sarah Foster.

Thos Edmonds, to Susanna Cranfield.

Thos. Golder, to Marcia Stone.

Richard Synge, Chaplain.

Daniel Minet, to Anna Maria Atkyns.

[She of Moor-place, Herts., he a merchant, of London; born at Dover 1699, died May, 1730, both buried at Dionis's Backchurch, London.]

William Holland, to Martha Fowke.

1724 Owen Haiswell, esq., to Catherine Soley.

Rev. Thomas Dane, to Elizabeth Broughton.

June 11th. Sir Wm. St. Quintin, bart., to Rebecca Thompson.

[The 4th bart., he died in 1771, having had 4 sons and 4 daus. and was succeeded by his son William, on whose death in July, 1795, the title became extinct; she was the dau. of Sir John Thompson, knt., Lord Mayor of London 1737, and died 1757.]

Lawrence Morris, to Bridget Nicholson.

William Warmon, to Ann Wheeler.

John Gould, to Mary Bulkeley

Sept. 24th. William Jones, esq., to Lady Frances Norton.

[Frances dau. of Ralph Freke, of Hannington, Wilts, widow of Sir Geo.

Norton, of Abbots-Leigh, co. Somerset, cr. a knight 14th Dec. 1671: by whom she had Grace, only dau, and heir, who married Sir Richard Gethin, bart. but died Oct. 1697, aged 21, sans issue. The Will of Lady Frances Norton, alias Jones, widow, was proved 20th Feb. 1730; she was buried in Westminster abbey, with her dau. Lady Gethin.—*Mon. Inscr.*]

Edward Smallman, to Rosanna Cart.

Edward Clarke, to Mary Wellock.

1725 Richard Arnold, esq. to Judith Shaw.

Timothy Fish, esq. to Mary Hutchinson.

Richard Jackson, to Elizabeth Warner.

William Southern, to Ann Clarke.

Samuel Wiggett, to Mary Carpenter.

1726 Roger Adams to Elizabeth Philips.

[He of St. Brides, London, about 29, bach. she of Hertford, about 18 spin. with the consent of her aunt Rachel, wife of Thomas Ween, the guardian of the said minor, under the will of —, Merchant wid. her grandmother; marriage license at Fac. office, dated 21st May, 1726.]

Sir John Shadwell, to Ann Binns.

[Knighted 12th June, 1715, being Physician to Q. Anne & K. George I., he was son of the Poet-laureate, died 4th Jan. 1747. This marriage is said in Malcolm's "Londinum Redivivum" to have taken place on 12th March, 1725. Lady Shadwell, wife of Sir John Shadwell, knt.

Physician to his Majesty, died 14th April, 1722,—*See Hist. Reg.*]

William Ashby, to Ann Bulstrode.

George Cressener to Mary Burrige.

George James Guidott, to Elizabeth Bainton.

James Cutts, to Mary Gibbons.

1727 German Chaworth, to Frances Thwaite.

July 15 Sir John Frederick, bart. to Barbara Kinnersley.

(Son of Thomas Frederick, esq. and grandson of Sir John F. Lord Mayor of London, 1662. He was cr. a bart, 1st June, 1723; she was the dau. of Thomas Kinnersley, of Loxley, co, Stafford and died 1st Sept, 1749, at Rotterdam, aged 49; he died 3rd Oct. 1755, aged 78; both buried at Hampton, co, Middlx.)

Thomas Peers, to Elizabeth Fairbone.

William Mills, to Theodosia Tenoe

John Barker, to Ann Bainbigg.

John Westly, to Elizabeth Morgan.

Thomas Barret, to Elizabeth Peters.

(Signed), L B.

1728 John Norris, to Catherine Thorpe

Thomas Warden, esq. to Mary Pitt

George Knevett, to Anne Harvey.

Robert Peake, to Leah Summers.

Geo Berkeley, to Ann Forester.

1728 Richmond Riggs, to Hannah Banks.

Jonah Bannister, to Martha Terry

Jacob Hunter, to Catherine Cooke

Colin Foster, to Beulah Digby.

William Attwood, to Christian Pockley.

1729 William Beddow, to Elizabeth Duntou.

Henry Sayer, to Elizabeth Eyre

Richard Edwards, to Dorothy Michel

John Hall, to Deborah Pond.

Benjamin Mariott, to Esther Chambers.

William Green, to Mary Smith.

Thomas Coventry, to Jane Gratwick.

Rowland Child, to Arabella Luton.

1730 Joseph Tily, to Mary Kelson Bennet,

Joseph Reed, to Frances Mander.

Richard Thompson, to Elizabeth Ives.

Blank.

John Kenward, to Alice Brook.

Blank.

James Altham, to Mary Hanway.

(He was Rector of Woodford and Vicar of Latton, co Essex; she was dau. of Thomas Hanway, agent for Victualling at Portsmouth and sister to Jonas Hanway, esq.)

Blank

1730 James Mundy, to Letitia Strong

Blank

Richard Acland, esq. to Ann Burrel,

Feb. 22nd Mark Halpenn, to the Lady Elizabeth Lawley.

(Elizabeth, widow of John Perkins was the second wife of Sir Thomas Lawley, 3rd bart. she died 28th Jan. 1739-40, Mr Halpen was formerly an Apothecary.—see the Curious printed case of Mark Halpen, appellant and Elizabeth Halpen his wife, commonly called Lady Lawley, and others respondents, heard in the House of Lords, Feb. 1734, by which it appears that Sir Thomas Lawley, bart aged about 75, died on 31st Dec. 1729 and that his widow immediately after the funeral consented to marry the appellant, provided he would conceal the same for one year and allow her 'the wearing of her weed,' also that the marriage took place in a bed chamber hired as a lodging, at the house of Mr. Jones a Jeweller, in Great Newport Street, on the 24th Jan. 1729-30, about 3 weeks after the death of Sir Thomas. In the Historical Register, Vol XVI, page 19, the marriage is said to have taken place on the 8th April, 1731, when probably, it was made public—the date of Feb. 22nd. 1730-1 as in the text is from Malcolm's "Londinum Redivivum.")

Blank.

Mathew Johnson, to Judith Wyat.

John Chitty, to Ann Palmer.

1731 Thomas Geers, *alias* Whitfield, to Sarah Lutwych.

* May 1st. Sir William Sanderson, bart. to Priscilla Bicknell.

(She was his 2nd wife and died s.p. 26th Jan. 1738-9; he was the 2nd bart. and gentleman usher of the black rod. and died 16th Jan 1754, leaving an only son the 3rd bart. who died 30 Oct. 1760 aged 15 when the baronetcy became extinct)

* John Wentworth, to Ann Johnson.

* *Inserted afterwards.*

Robert Towers, to Elizabeth Leonard.

John Chadwel, to Elizabeth Thursby.

Richard Lambert, to Esther Beck.

Robert Lowther, to Catherine Pennington,

(Only dau. of Sir Joseph Pennington, bart. she died Dec. 1764 and was buried at Bath abbey; he died Sept. 1745; their son Sir James Lowther, bart. was cr. Earl of Lonsdale, 24th May, 1784.)

Blank.

Joseph Stanfield, to Ann Eaton.

July 12th. George Fox, esq. to the Hon. Lady Harriet Benson.

(Only dau. and heir of Robert Benson, cr. Baron Bingley, 21st July 1713, who died without male issue 9th April, 1730; she succeeded to Bramham park, to lands worth £7000 a year and £100,000 in cash. Her husband assumed the additional surname of 'Lane' and was cr. Baron Bingley 13th of May, 1762, but died 1773 s.p. when the title became extinct.)

Blank.

1731 John Davis, to Ann Pold.

Blank.

Samuel Porten, to Rebecca Cock.

Blank.

John Boulthby, to Ann Cibber.

Blank.

(*Signed*), L. B.

1732 Antony Nott, to Prudence Warden.

Brice Fisher, to Ann de la Chambre.

Robert Wilson, to Elizabeth Cliff.

John Temple to Elizabeth Cope-land.

James Hustler, esq. of Oakham, Yorkshire, to Elizabeth Booth, of Colney-hatch, in Middlx.

(He was 4th but only surviving son and heir of Sir Wm. Hustler, of Acklam, co. York; she the dau. and co-heir of James Booth, of Theobalds, Herts. esq.)

Charles Jefferys, to Susanna Ford.

1733 Stephen Penton, to Mary Hiliard, of St. Clemant Danes, (Perhaps of the family of Stephen Penton, inducted to th Rectory of Wath. co. York in 1693, who died 18th Oct. 1706. aged 67—See "Topographer and Genealogist," Vol III., pages 430 & 432.)

Harry Nash, of Worcester, to Hannah Owen, of Worcester.

John Roundtree, of Christchurch London, to Martha Sturt, of Ripley, Surry

- 1733 Thomas Martin, to Bridget Arabella Warnenham,
Bartholomew Burton, to Philadelphia Herne.
- 1733-4 Stephen Popham, to Diana Shelton
Mansel Powel, esq., of Wellington, co. Hereford, to Martha Hoare, of St. Giles's-in-the-fields Westminster,
By Mr. John Hill, Rector of Stourton, Wilts.
[She was one of the daus. of Henry Hoare, of London, banker, (then deceased) and born 10th Jan. 1708. She had £10,000 for her fortune.]
Andrew Hanne, or Harne widr., to Elizabeth Shelley.
William Reason, to Mary Olfield.
Dowel Chelsey, to Mary Lyddell widow.
Bartholomew May, to Elizabeth Waylett.
- 1735 John Daniel Dreyer, to Sarah Fenton.
Richard Knollys, widower, to Hannah Salwey.
(He was a Chymist, in Fleet street, London and married to his 2nd wife Hannah dau. of Richard Salway, of Stratford, co. Essex, who died S.P.—by his 1st wife he was father of Sir Francis Knollys, bart.)
John Peyton, widower, to Susanna Calvert.
(Susanna, dau. of Felix Calvert, of Hunsdon, Herts. esq. 2nd wife of John Peyton, esq. who died 1741 and mother of Sir Yelverton Peyton, 8th bart., who died 18th Oct. 1815, when the baronetcy became extinct.—She was living a widow in 1782.)
Charles Coker, esq. to Elizabeth Wynne, widow.
Antony Bannister, widower, to Rebecca Streck.
- 1736 John Aris, to Sarah Marshall,
Thomas Pinnell, widower to Hannah Gifford, widow.
Benjamin Bund, to Susannah Lawton.
Hill Mussenden, esq. of Heringfleet, co. Suffolk, to Martha Johnson, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.
Benjamin Stoakes, widower, to Ann Shipton, widow.
Samuel Budd, to Rebecca Jacobson.
George Budd, to Grace Wicham.
Thomas Vernon, esq. widower, to Elizabeth Nicoll, of Hendon, Midlx.
Thomas Waller, to Martha Walthoe, of Kensington.
- 1736-7 John Shower, to Elizabeth Humall.
William Goudge, widower, to Mary Harbottle.
- 1737 Edward Hawke, Esq., of Kensington, to Catharine Brooke, of Kensington.
(Afterwards Edward, 1st Lord Hawke the celebrated Admiral. She was the dau. and sole heir of Walter Brooke, of Burton-Hall, in the West Riding co. of York; she died 28th Oct. 1756 and he died, 17th Oct. 1781.)
Joseph Townsend, to Judith Gore

1737 Thomas Drury, esq. of Overton, co. Northampton, to Martha Tyrell, of East Thorndcn, Essex.

(Afterward Sir Thos Drury, bart. of Overton, co. Northampton. She was the dau. of Sir John Tyrell, of Springfield, co. Essex, Sir Thomas died s.p.m. 19th Jan. 1759.)

Thomas Nichols, to Sarah Burch.

1737-8 William Browne, widower, to Jane Cooke of Hampstead.

1738 Rev. Mr. Beachcroft, of St. Andrew Undershaft to Susanna Hudson, of Wanstead, Essex.

Thomas Andreion, to Lilly Glass.

Walter Cary, widower, to Elizabeth Collins.

1739 Richard Wright, to Margaret Ridley, of St. Peter's in Chester.

William Jones, esq. of Ramsbury Manor, Wilts. to Eleonora Ernle, of Brimslade, in co. Wilts.

(Second dau. & co-heir of Edward Ernle, of Brimslade Park, Wilts, Esq., married 21st June, 1739; her husband died 13 Sept. 1753 aged 53, and was buried at Ramsbury afore-said, she was living 1792.)

John Wight, to Elizabeth Desca, widow.

Nathaniel Trayton, to Philadelphia Parker, of Writtle, Essex.

William Sumner, to Elizabeth Tanner, of St. John's, Hackney.

(He was of St. Andrew's Holborn,

aged 27, bachelor; she aged 25, spinster, mar. lic. at Fac. office, dated 18th Sept. 1739.)

Abraham Roberts, of Stepney to Elizabeth Wildey, of Stepney.

Thomas Reynolds to Mary Coping.

1739-40 Rev. John Watson, of Sandford, Essex, widower, to Jane Bodens.

William Fennell, to Elizabeth Howard-

March 5th, Sir Thomas Brand, knt. of St. Marys-le-Strand, co. Middlesex. widr., to Jane Hume, of St. Martins-in-the Fields, in the said co., spin.

(On the 7th Nov. 1761 died Sir Thomas Brand, knt., aged 92, "formerly an Embellisher of Letters to Eastern Princes."—See Gent. Mag., vol. 31, page 539)

Edward Davis, of Northwick, co. Worcester, widower, to Elizabeth Vaughan.

1740 Peter Taylor, to Jane Holt.

John Andrew, widower, to Dorothy Thomas.

Richard Speed, to Sarah Brown
Eliakim Palmer, to Martha Theobald.

1740-1 Joseph Boughton, to Ann Peell.

Joseph Ward, esq. to Ann Fountayne, of Bedington, Surrey, widow.

[Ann dau. of Sir Nicholas Carew, bart. of Beddington, co. Surrey, married 1st Thomas Fountayne, esq. of Melton, co. York, who died 18th Jan. 1739-40 s.p. and 2ndly.

Joseph Ward, of the Inner Temple, London esq.]

1740-1 March, 1st Thomas Parker, esq one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, widower to Martha Cranmer, of St. Clement Danes, widow.

[Martha, 3rd dau. and co-heir of Edward. Strong of Greenwich, Kent and relict of Henry Cranmer—died 20th Oct. 1754. Her husband was knighted 1742 when Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and died 1784, aged 89, leaving issue by both his wives.]

Norton Nichols, to Jane Hoyer.

William Fleet, of East Peckham, Kent to Elizabeth Westbrook

Robert Fairfax, to Martha Collins.

Godwin Prince, to Mary King.

Richard Montagu, widower, to Ann Graham.

William Coxe, MD. of Richmond, Surrey, to Barbara Clark.

1741 George Carpue, to Rebecca Staples.

Thomas Catlin, to Ann Watson

1741-2 John Innes, to Elizabeth Crome, widow.

1742 Jacob Fowler, to Sarah Smith.

Henry Wright, of Ledget, Norfolk, to Jane Grant.

Marmaduke Wallis, widower, to Mary Johnson.

Samuel Higgs, to Sarah Harris

Aug. 8th. Sir Richard Warwick Bampfylde, of Poltimore, co. Devon, bart. bachelor, to Jane Codrington, of Wraxhall, So-

merset, spinster.

[Dau. & heiress of Col. John Codrington, M.P. for Bath, by Elizabeth only dau. and heiress of Samuel Gorges, esq. she inherited the manor and estate of Wraxhall, aforesaid, on the death of her Grandfather Edward Gorges in 1708. Born 24th Oct. and baptised 15th Nov. 1720, at Wraxhall aforesaid, and buried there 24th Feb. 1789, having survived her husband who died 15th Aug. 1776. Their son Sir Charles Warwick Bampfylde sold the property, at Wraxhall about A.D. 1800, being father of the first Lord Poltimore.]

Thomas Medlycott, esq widower to Elizabeth Dawson, widow.

[He was of Venn House, in Milborne port, co, Somerset; she was widow of Gilbert Dawson, and dau. of —Seyliard of co. Kent; she died Jan. 1763, aged 62; he died 21 July following, aged 65, sp. his only child having died young, in his lifetime. his nephew Thomas Hutchings assumed the name and arms of Medlycott, on succeeding to the property and was father of Sir William Coles Medlycott, cr. a bart. in 1808.]

1742-3 William Thomas, esq. to Margaret Sydserfe, of Stoke Newington, co. Middlesex.

1743 William Vigor, to Jane Rondeau, widow.

John Conrand, to Ann Cokely. Shardlow Wightman, widower, to Mary Mee.

July, 8th. Rev. Wadham Knatchbull, L.L.D. of Chilham Kent bachelor, to Harriett Parry, of Oakfield, Berks. spinster
[He was 4th son of Sir Edward Knatchbull the 4th bart. and died

27th Dec. 1760, aged 54, leaving issue. she was the dau. of Charles Parry, and died 12th Oct. 1794, age 83.]

Alexander Ross, to Mary Win-
cott,

1743 Thomas Ramsden, esq. to Ann
Medows.

[Ann, dau. of Sir Phillip Medowes,
knt. Marshall, married 14th July,
1743, Thomas Ramsden, son of Sir
Wm Ramsden, the 2nd bart. she
died 1761, he died 1791, s.p.]

Hugh James, to Jane Lloyd.

John Whitmore, Sarah Stevens.

John Ivehopp, to Ann Shewell.

Nov 12. William de Grey, esq. of the
Middle Temple, London, bach,
to Mary Cowper, of St. John's
Westminster, spinster.

[Cr. Baron Walsingham 1780 after
having been Solicitor and Attorney
General and Chief Justice of the
court of Common Pleas.]

John Brown, to Ann Sellis.

1744 Edmund Sanxay, to Maria An-
trobus, of Ridgley, co. Stafford.

John Jackson, to Elizabeth
Lloyd, of Bath.

Robert Weston, to Frances
Medows.

Charles Spencer, of Croydon,
Surrey, to Mary Morris, of
Croydon, Surrey.

Robert Dingley, to Elizabeth
Thompson, of Kerby Hall,
co. York.

1744-5 Nathaniel Webb, of Bristol,
to Jane Man.

1745 John Robinson, widower, to
Mary Moncaster, of Baddow,
Essex.

Herbert Lawrenc, to Elizabeth
Baldy.

Benjamin Olden to Lydia Owen.

1745 James Leman, to Deborah
Turner.

Mathew Combe, to Hannah
Hahn.

*Vacancy for a marriage solemnized
by Dr Chapman, Archdeacon of Sud-
bury, who neither left the licence nor
the names of the Couple.*

1746 Charles Ambler, esq. to Ann
Paxton

Rev. John Irons, of Lynstad,
Kent. to Elizabeth Greenway

Stephen Dupuy, to Hannah
Haywood widow.

Robert Cartony, to Mary Rob-
inson. wid.

Richard Martyn, to Mary Gould,
wid.

Samuel Salt, esq. to Elizabeth
Benson.

1746 7 Jan. 6th. Edwin Lascelles,
esq. of Harewood, co. York,
bachelor, to Elizabeth Dawes,
of Escrick, co. York, spinster,
a minor.

[Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Sir
Darcy Dawes, bart. 1st wife of Ed-
win Lascelles, cr. Baron Harewood
9th July, 1790; she died 31st Aug.,
1764. at Bath, he died 25th Jan.
1795, when the title became ex-
tinct.]

Lawrence Williams, esq. widr.
to Elizabeth Robinson, widow.

Jan. 19th. Moses da Costa, of Tot-
teridge, Herts. to Rachel
Mendes, alias da Costa, of
St. Stephen Coleman Street.

Colonel Francis Leighton, of
Bautsley, co. Montgomery,
to Renea Pinfold.

[There are several children of
Charles Pinfold, L.L.D. by Renea
his wife, bapt. between 1709 & 1725

at St. Bennetts, Pauls wharf.]

1747 William Walker, to Ann Elles.

Richard Noyes, esq. to Ann Walker.

Thomas Lodington, to Ann Broade, of Benifield, co. Northampton.

Charles Hughes, to Esther Peel.

George Fox, to Elizabeth Drinkwater, widow.

John Shrimpton, of Newport, in Isle of Wight, to Jane Carney, of Reading, Berks.

Richard Reynolds, to Ann d'Oyly, of New Windsor Berks

Mathew Graves, widower, of Serjeant's Inn, to Sarah Metcalf, of Sunbury, Middlesex.

Aug. 22nd. Sir Capel Molyneux, of Dublin, in Ireland bachelor to Elizabeth East, of St. James's Westminster.

[Sister of Sir William East, of Hall-place, Berks, bart. and first wife of Sir Capel Molyneux, who succeeded his brother Sir Daniel Molyneux in 1738, as 3rd bart. he died Aug. 1797, in his 80th year, leaving issue.]

Peter Dervine, to Elizabeth Simpson, a minor.

John Wood, of Salisbury to Elizabeth Hull, of Salisbury, widow,

Dec. 19th. Honorable Henry Conway, esq. to Lady dowager Alesbury.

[Caroline, only dau. of General John Campbell afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll, 3rd wife of Charles, 3rd

earl of Ailesbury, to whom she was married 13th June, 1739. Henry Seymour Conway, brother of Francis 1st Marquess of Hertford, died 9th July, 1795 aged 75.]

1747-8 Robert Winch, to Elizabeth Gils.

Thomas Allan, widower, to Elizabeth Penton, widow.

Thomas Weldon, esq. of Norwich, widower, to Mary Wingfield, widow.

1748 James Phillipps, to Mary Carter.

Isaac Dimslate, widower, to Jane Paskell.

Edmund Easty, to Elizabeth Thompson.

John Goaler, to Catherine Harris.

Adam Allyn, to Bethia Lee.

George Wilson, to Mary Turton.

Benjamin Morris, to Hannah Pierce, of Woodford, Essex.

Valentine Morris, esq. of St. Awan, co. Monmouth, to Mary Mordaunt.

John Usher, to Susanna Cage, Henry Plant, to Jane Hyland, of Hillington, Middlesex, wid.

1748-9 William Ashe, of Heytesbury, Wilts. esq. bachelor, to Honorable Catherine Powlet, of Edington, Wilts.

[2nd dau. of Lord Harry Powlett, who became in 1754 the 4th Duke of Bolton.—the marriage was on 4th Jan. 1748-9. He died 11th July, 1750 s.p. and was buried at Heytesbury. She re-married Feb. 1755, Adam Drummond, esq. of Meggins,

in Scotland and died 8th Oct. 1774]

Philip Jennings to Ann Thompson, of Coley. Berks.

Mathew Michel, of Chiltern, Wilts. esq. to Frances Ashfordby, of St. Clement Danes, Midx.

Nathaniel Hancock, to Elizabeth Arnoutts.

1749 Arthur Benjamin Lane, esq. of Hampstead, Middlesex. to Mary Clark.

Thomas Hutton, of Gainsboro' Lincolnshire, to Elizabeth Morland, of Lamberhurst.

Alexander Thomas, widower, to Elizabeth Thompson, widow.

James Archer, to Elizabeth White, of High Wickham, Bucks.

John Owen, to Mary Siggins.

Thomas Smith, of Melton Mowbray, co. Leicester, to Catherine Knowles.

Richard Adkins, to Elizabeth Lunn.

1749-50 Thomas Parry widower, to Elizabeth Bell.

John Baker, M.D. of Richmond, Surrey, to Sarah Wood, of Richmond.

1750 Robert Nettleton, esq. to Jane Becher.

Samuel Brown, esq. to Sarah Cottle.

Hans Buch, to Christiana Moore

Samuel Grace, to Esther Rutt.

Robert Hawkins, esq. widower, of Carshalton, Surrey, to Mary Monier, widow.

Thomas Ripley, jun. to Amy

Dawson.

[Thomas Ripley, of the city of Westminster, esq. Comptroller-general of all his Majesty's Works, who stated that he was descended from the family of Ripley, co. York; had a grant of arms and crest 26th of March, 1742.]

Richard Combes, to Margaret Barlow. widow.

1751 Robert Bright, to Frances Henzey.

Robert Lusson, widower, of Yarmouth, co. Norfolk, to Jane Vaughan.

Peter Peterson, to Eleanor Toulson.

Edward Cartwright, to Rebecca Cartwright.

Sept. 23rd Right Honorable John Thynne, Lord Chedworth to Martha Parker of St. Martins-in-the Fields.

[Martha dau. and co-heir of Sir Phillip Parker Long, bart. married John Thynne Howe, 2nd baron Chedworth; he died s.p. 10th May, 1762; she died 30th Nov. 1775. The title became extinct 29th Oct. 1804. they are said to have been married by the Rev. Mr. How, rector of Wichford Magna, Wilts.]

William Jones, esq. widower, to Elizabeth Herbert, widow.

William Dottin Battyn, esq. of Walfield, Berks. to Harriet Palmer, of Dorney, Bucks.

[Dau. of Sir Charles Palmer, the 5th bart. who died 8th Nov. 1773; her husband was of the Isle of Barbadoes and afterwards a merchant in London.]

John Lewen Smith, to Mary Lumley.

Honorius Combault, to Magaret Reddall.

1752 Richard Shelley, esq. widower to Sarah Kendall, widow.

George Longcroft, to Elizabeth Ann Moody.

[3rd and youngest dau. of George Moody, of St. Dunstons in the West, London; she was buried at Hampstead in or before 1797; her husband, who was of the Stamp Office, Lincoln's Inn, died 8th April, 1807, aged 82 and was also buried at Hampstead.]

Mariel Marcar, to Sophia Meyers.

1752 James Powell, of Bow, Middlesex, to Ann Rhodes.

William Cole, to Ann Gumme, of Mersham, Kent.

Solomon Darolls, esq. to Arabella Peterson.

[This Marriage is said to have been at St. Georges Chapel near Hyde Park corner. I suppose the Chapel at Knightsbridge—Mr. Davis in his history of that hamlet, has not extracted such an entry from the marriage register. Qy. if the name should not be Durell—Solomon Durell, esq. was appointed gentleman of the horse, and equery to the Princess of Wales in 1743—His will is dated January and proved July, 1771 in compliance with which Thomas Evans his son-in-law took the name and arms of Durell.]

Lethieullier Tooke, of Clapham, Surrey, to Mary Santi, widow, of Clapham.

[Lethieullier Tooke was a merchant in London, and a resident in the parish of St. Stephen's Coleman St., being one of the well known family of booksellers, of which Benjamin & Samuel Tooke two brothers, were

connected with Swift, Pope and the writers of that day. he died 7th Dec. 1759, leaving a large family.]

Jeremiah Ives, esq. of Norwich, widr. to Elizabeth Little.

Thomas West, to Jane Weaver.

Thomas Hulbert, of Speen, Berks. widower, to Sarah Rutherford, widow, of Crookham, Berks.

Henry Broadley, esq. to Philadelphia Baillie.

Thomas Joyce, widower, to Sarah Day.

Talbot Williamson, esq. to Christian Gilbert

William le Marchant, esq. of Gotswell, in the parish of Speed Berks, widower, to Anna Maria Bagnell,

[This marriage said in Gentleman's Magazine to be on 30th Sept. 1752. The word is 'Speed' in the original entry—q. pro Speen?]

Thomas Osgood, of Newbury, Berks. to Jane Edmunds, of Clapham, Surrey.

1753 John Fry Hussey, of Ensham. in the co, of Dorset, esq. widr to Mary Abbiss.

John Henry Mertins, widower, to Ann Lloyd.

Rev. James Andrew, of Dryfield Gloucestershire. to Eliza Vanhatten, of Dinton, Bucks. Samuel Grindley, to Mary Clift Isaac Moseley. to Honor Alston a minor.

Thomas Harris. to Haannah Cullum, widow.

Richard Everest, widower, to

- Mary Wardman, widow.
 Alexander Douglas, widower, to
 Mary Margaret Bowyer,
 John Bennett, of Warminster,
 Wilts. to Mary Aldridge, of
 ditto.
 Legh Master, esq. of Winwick,
 co. Lancaster, to Katherine
 Hoskins, of Oxted, Surry.
 Guilford Gibson, to Hannah
 Robinson.
 Joseph Poole, a minor, to Caro-
 lina Newman.
 Joseph Wellard, of Swans-
 combe, Kent, widower, to
 Margaret Wallace, of ditto.
 Joseph Nicholson, of Chelsea,
 to Letitia Dalton, of Ken-
 sington.
 George Juby, to Mary Gray.
 Benjamin Carpenter, esq. to
 Mary Carr.
 1754 Andrew Didier, M.D., to Ann
 Bruce, widow.
 William Deards, to Margaret
 Morgan.
 Sept. 26th. Soame Jenyns, esq. widr.
 of Bottisham, co. Cambridge,
 to Elizabeth Gray, of the same
 parish, spinster.
 (A well known writer and wit,
 married 1st, Mary, only dau. of Col.
 Soame, of Dereham, co. Norfolk, and
 2ndly, Elizabeth, dau. of Henry Grey
 esq. of Hackney; but died s.p. 13th
 December, 1787.)
 Thomas Sheppard, widower, of
 Hertingfordbury, Herts. to
 Ann Jones, of ditto.
 William Dalton, to Frances
 Carter, widow, of Ballington,
 Suffolk.
 1755 June 4th. Hon. and Rev. John
 Aylmer, of Greenwich, Kent,
 bachelor, to Elizabeth Vass-
 mer, of Greenwich, spinster.
 Married by special licence.
 (He was 2nd son of Henry, 2nd baron
 Aylmer, in the kingdom of Ireland
 and was prebendary of Bristol; died
 1793.)
 July 17th. Rev. Dr. Balthazar Regis
 of Edisham, Kent, widower,
 to Charlotte Clayton, of the
 Royal Palace of Windsor, spin.
 [Appointed Rector of Adisham,
 co. Kent, in March, 1717; died 5th
 January, 1757.]
 1756, April 8th. Sir Hanson Berney,
 of Kirby Bedon, co. Norfolk,
 bart., bachelor, to Catharine
 Woolball, of Walthamstow,
 Essex, spinster.
 [The 6th bart. he died 1778,
 leaving issue.]
 1757 Antony Lucas, esq. of Gran-
 tham, Lincolnshire, to Chris-
 tian Calcraft, of Grantham.
 [Dau. of John Calcraft, of Gran-
 tham, co. Lincolnshire, died 24th of
 January, 1784 aged 49; he died
 29th June, 1789. Their issue took
 the name of Calcraft.]
 *1758 Sir Samuel Fludyer, knt. widr.
 to Carolina Brudenell.
 [He was knighted 19th Sept. 1755,
 being of Lee, co. Kent, cr. a bart.
 14th Nov. 1759, was lord mayor of
 London 1761, died 18th Jan. 1768.
 She was dau. and eventually co-heir
 of the Hon. James Brudenell, bro-
 ther of George, 3rd earl of Cardigan]

and married 2nd Sept. 1758—From this match the present Fludyer barts descend.]

*Thomas Hodgetts, widower, of Ashwood Lodge, co. Stafford, to Margaret Ketelby, widow.

[In the Gent.'s Mag. vol. 28, p. 244, the marriage of Thomas Hodgetts, of Ashford Lodge, Staffordshire esq. to Mrs. *Johnston* of Kitelby, is said to have taken place on 22nd of May, 1758.]

1764 Feb. 4th. Sir George Warren, knight of the bath, of St James Westminster, to Frances Bishopp, of the Palace of St James spinster, first Maid of Honour to her Majesty.

[Frances, dau. of Sir Cecil Bishopp bart. second wife of Sir George Warren, of Poynton, Cheshire, K.B. by whom he had no issue; by his first wife Miss Revell, whom he married in May, 1758 with £200,000 fortune he had an only child, Elizabeth Harriet, who married Thomas James, 7th and last Lord Viscount Bulkeley on the 26th April, 1777, from Grafton Street, and died his widow 23rd

Feb 1826 aged 66, without issue leaving the large estates of the Warren family to Frances Maria, wife of the 4th Lord Vernon, and dau, and heir of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren bart., K.B. in which family they still remain. Sir George died 30th Aug. 1801; his widow on 15th Feb. 1804.]

1769 May 6th Mr. Robert Travis, bachelor, of Allhallows Lombard Street, London, to Miss Catharine Gunning, spinster, of Somerset House.

[The youngest of the 3 beautiful Miss Gunnings, of whom one was Countess of Coventry and the other Duchess of Hamilton, and afterwards Duchess of Argyle.]

Nov. 23rd The Rev. Henry Beauclerk, bachelor, of Somerset House, to Miss Charlotte Drummond, spinster, of St Martins-in-the-Fields.

(See Note to baptism of their child, on 6th Sept. 1770)

1776 John Crosse Crooke, esq. of Hendon, Middlesex, to Elizabeth Parry.

* In the Original Register these two entries appear to be misplaced

BAPTISMS.

IN

Somerset House Chapel.



- 1732 June 30th Robert Wilson, educated a quaker, aged 19 years, 8 months and 26 days.
- 1733 Jane, dau. of Joseph and Jane Tyler.
- 1734 Edward, son of ditto. ditto.
Joseph, son of Joseph and Jane Dawson.
Joseph, son of Ralph and Catherine Clayton.
- 1740 Sarah, dau. of Daniel and Magdalen Maud, born a quaker, Aug. 19 1722.
- 1742 Jane, dau of Joseph and Jane Dawson.
- 1744-5 Charles, son of Ralph and Catherine Clayton.
- 1743, Dec. 18th. Mary, dau. of Lord Harry Beauclerk, of Somerset House,
- 1745, Sept. 2nd. Henry, son of ditto. born 12th Aug. bapt, by Rev. Mr. Bruce.
- 1746, Nov. 17th Charlotte, dau. of ditto. bapt, by Mr. George Adams, the Reader.
- 1747-8, Jan. 8th Martha, dau. of ditto. born 12th Dec. 1747, bapt. by the Rev. Dr. Bruce.
1749. Oct. 27th. Ann, dau. of ditto. born 5th, bapt. by the Rev. Dr. Bruce.

(Lord Henry Beauclerk was 4th son of Charles, 1st Duke of St. Albans He was Col of the 31st Regiment of foot, died 5th January, 1761, aged 59. having had issue 2 sons viz : George, who died an infant, and Henry. in Holy Orders who left issue; also 6 daus., Diana, born 24th June 1741

Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte—Henrietta, born 26th Nov 1742; Mary, born 25th Nov. 1743, married Rev. Walter Williams, Rector of Pinner and Harrow, co. Middlesex. Charlotte, born 24th Oct, 1746. Martha and Ann born as above mentioned.)

1745 John, son of John Jones.

1745 6 Catherine Somerset Proctor, dau. of William Proctor.

1749 William, son of Ralph Clayton.

1754 David, son of George and Catherine Garrick born April 4th bapt. April 19th.

(Not the famous actor David Garrick, who was born in Hereford, & bapt. at All Saints, there 28th Feb. 1716, but children of his brother George by Catherine Carrington his wife. David died 1795 and Nathaniel in 1788, both leaving issue. Their cousin the Actor had died 20th January, 1779)

1755 Nathan, son ditto.

John, son of John and Elizabeth Blackwell.

1756 Jane, dau. of Richard and Mary Burrow.

1757 John Lee.

1758 Anna Maria, dau. of Bibye Lake, esq. and Ann his wife.

(Probably a dau. of Bibye Lake, 2nd son of Sir Bibye Lake, 2nd bart. by Ann his wife, dau. of Henry Sperling, of Dynes Hall, co. Essex.)

1767 Richard, son of Richard and Mary Cullum.

1768 Sarah, dau. of Mary Smith, formerly Cullum, and John Smith.

Ann, dau. of William and Hannah Latimer.

1769 William, son of ditto ditto.

1771 Arabella, dau. of ditto ditto.

1774 Catherine, dau. of ditto ditto.

1770 Ann Caroline, dau. of Hester and the Rev. Talbot Keene.

Elizabeth Dorothea, dau. of Robert and Catherine Travis.

(See the marriage of her parents, 6th May, 1769.)

Sept. 6th Henry, son of the Hon and Rev. Henry Beauclerk.

(The Rev. Henry Beauclerk, only surviving son of Lord Henry Beauclerk aforesaid, Rector of Greens Norton co Northampton and of Leckham-

stead Berks. married at this Chapel 23 Nov. 1769, Charlotte, dau. of John Drummond, esq. who died at Sherfield, Hants. 20th March, 1774 leaving issue Henry, born 11th Aug. 1770 and bapt. as above, John born 10th Feb. 1772 and Charles who died very young.)

- 1771 David Thomas, son of Thomas and Catherine Powell.
 1772 Catherine, dau of ditto ditto.
 1774 Henry Thomas, son of ditto ditto.
 1773 Philip Francis, son of John and Margaret Irene Harcourt.
 1775 William, son of William and Martha Dixie.

* * * Malcolm says there are but 39 Baptisms from 1732 to 1777, but by the above list there would appear to be only 36.

BURIALS.

IN THE VAULT UNDER

Somerset House Chapel.

1720, Aug. 21st. Mrs. Lee, of Lord Litchfield's family.

1725, Sept. 21st. Mrs. Allen, of Somerset House.

Sept. 24th. Thomas Hutton, esq. Keeper of Somerset House.

(On 25th Sept. 1725, Mrs. Blessington, wife of Major Blessington, was appointed under housekeeper at his Majesty's Palace of Somerset House in the room of Thomas Hutton, esq. deceased.

1726, April 2nd. Miss Sophia How, of Somerset House.

(She was Maid of Honour to Caroline, Princess of Wales, who afterwards became Queen, and was dau. of General Emanuel Howe, by Rupert, natural dau. of the celebrated Prince Rupert.

1741 Daniel Burgess, aged 67.

1746-7 Daniel, son of the above.

Mrs. Penelopy Hume.

Mrs. Bodens, (The first buried by Dr. Bruce.)

1752 Mrs. Sarah Bowen

Mr. Thomas Bowen

Mrs. Ho

1756, Aug. 21st. William Bowen, Esq.

1758, Nov. 26th. William Proctor, Esq.

1770, May 20th. Mrs. Watson, daughter of Mrs. Bodens, and sister
to Colonel Bodens. *

Witness LEWIS BRUCE,
Chaplain.

From Michaelmas, 1775, the Chapel shut up by Order
from the Treasury, as it is to be taken down for the new plan of
buildings to be erected according to Act of Parliament.

All the Burials under Somerset House Chapel were by
warrants from the Lord Chamberlains Office.

LEWIS BRUCE.

* The last interment of which there were but fourteen between
1720 and 1777.

THE END.

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ON THE
ENGRAVED PORTRAITS
AND
PRETENDED PORTRAITS
OF
MILTON.

BY
JOHN FITCHETT MARSH, ESQ.

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ON THE ENGRAVED PORTRAITS AND PRETENDED PORTRAITS OF MILTON.

By John Fitchett Marsh, Esq.

While volumes have been written on the portraits of Shakespeare, the information obtainable respecting those of Milton is confined to a few scattered notes of his biographers and commentators, the most copious account being one in Todd's *Life*, copied, with some additions, from Mr. Warton's note to Milton's Greek epigram, "*In effigiei ejus sculptorem.*" The reason for this scarcity of information is not that less is known of the portraits of our greatest epic, than of those of our greatest dramatic poet, but that, on the contrary, more being known, less has been left to conjecture; but, unfortunately, the existing materials have been so used by successive commentators—each adopting and adding to the mistakes of his predecessors—as to produce an amount of confusion from which it is my hope to assist in extricating the subject. The objects I propose to myself in the present paper are, to examine the relation in which the usually received portraits stand to each other, to collect the scattered notices of them, and thus to render them available for the illustration of a connected series of representations of the poet's features. It is of ENGRAVED PORTRAITS only that I propose to treat, having no opportunities for making myself acquainted with the original pictures and drawings. The extent of the materials for a catalogue is greater than perhaps would be generally supposed: for while Granger's list comprises 37 portraits, Bromley's only 25, and Evans's 42, I have been enabled not only to compile a catalogue of 164, but to produce upwards of 150 for your inspection.

The portrait painted at the age of ten, now in the possession of Mr. Disney; that at the age of twenty-one, purchased from the executor of Milton's widow by Speaker Onslow; the print engraved by Marshal, for the first edition of the minor poems, in 1645; and that prefixed to the

first edition of the History of Britain, inscribed "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum" "delin. et sculpsit, 1670," at the age of 62, form a series of unquestionable authenticity, taken at various periods of the Poet's life, and presenting such marked difference of feature as to create no risk of mistake or confusion among them. Their peculiarities and history will be more fully noticed when we come to describe them in detail; but the name of Faithorne has been so unwarrantably mixed up with the mistakes and falsifications which I shall presently have to expose, that it will be convenient, before proceeding further, to describe the characteristics by which his celebrated engraving, and the large number of portraits derived from it, may be distinguished. If, in doing this, I say little about expression and features, it is because they are more easily conveyed to the mind by actual inspection than described by words, and because the caprice or incompetence of engravers may readily produce such a variation in them as effectually to disguise the source from which their subject has been derived; whereas peculiarities of dress and attitude, though in some respects secondary considerations, are usually found so persistently preserved as to furnish satisfactory evidence of a common origin. The Faithorne engraving, then, may be distinguished by the following characteristics:—The face is turned in the same direction as the bust. There is a broad Genevan band,* the nearer half of which lies quite straight, and the other half falls in several folds, beneath which is seen a tassel.

* As we shall have to mention the distinguishing costumes of the various portraits, it will be well to explain the sense in which several terms are used, especially as the name of the modern academic badge connects the idea of "bands", in popular estimation, rather with the Genevan band here referred to than with the article of dress to which the term "band" was originally applied. The circular ruff, with its ample plaits, is familiar to us in the portraits of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers. In the succeeding reign (*see Planché on British Costume, ed. 1847, p. 350*), "the ruff" was occasionally "exchanged for a wide stiff collar, standing out horizontally and squarely, made of the same stuff, and starched and wired as usual, but plain instead of plaited or pinched, and sometimes edged, like the ruff, with lace: these collars were called 'Bands'"—from which comes the term "band-box"—and Fairholt in the Glossary to his History of Costume defines the BAND as "a collar of linen or cambric, surrounding the neck, and which was stiffened with starch, or underpropped; or else allowed to fall upon the shoulders, when it was termed a 'falling-band'." The Janssen portrait and that described in the Gent. Mag. so closely resembling it (No. 4) furnish excellent illustrations of the "band" and "falling-band" respectively: it is an error to confound either one or the other with the "ruff." Deprived of their laced edges—the sides cut away that they might not fall over the shoulder—and the parts overhanging the chest cut square—the transition is easy from the "falling-bands" to the "Geneva bands," which, Mr. Planché observes, are "like those worn by our modern clergymen and councillors, except that instead of being two small pieces worn for distinction merely, they were "bona fide collars, the ends of which hung negligently out over the waistcoat." (p. 390.) For a fair specimen of the transition here spoken of see the print numbered 151.



No. 2.

La. 16171. — F. 16171. — 16171.



No. 1.

F. 16171. — G. 16171. — 16171.



G. 16171. — F. 16171. — 16171.



H. 16171. — F. 16171. — 16171.

The drapery, which falls so as to cover the vest except the two upper buttons, is drawn rather tight over the nearer shoulder. A thick fold, a little below, takes a direction more nearly approaching the horizontal; and below that, the edge or a thin fold of the material takes a peculiar curve from one side of the figure to the other.

Leaving these distinctive marks to be borne in mind when we come to compare the portraits with which this original has been confounded, I will proceed to notice the circumstances from which the confusion I refer to has arisen. Several applications seem to have been made to Deborah Clarke, Milton's youngest daughter, who survived him until the year 1727, for her opinion on the authenticity of supposed portraits of her father. The first is related in a letter from Vertue to Mr. Christian, the seal engraver, preserved in the British Museum,* and is as follows: "Mr. Christian—Pray inform my Lord Harley† that I have on Thursday last seen the Daughter of Milton the Poet. I carry'd with me two or three different Prints of Milton's picture which she immediately knew to be like her father & told me her mother in Law (if ‡ living in Cheshire) had two pictures of him, one when he was a school boy & the other when about § twenty. She knows of no other picture of him because she was several years in Ireland—both before & after his Death. She was the youngest of Milton's daughters by his first wife and was taught to read to her father several Languages. Mr. Addison was desirous to see her once—& desired she would bring with her Testimonials of her being Milton's daughter. But as soon as she came into the Room he told her she needed none, her face haveing much of the likeness of the pictures he had seen of him. For my part I find the features of her Face very

* This letter has been printed in the *Gent. Mag.* (1831); in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*; and in *Ivimey's and Masson's Biographies*, and perhaps elsewhere. In some of these the reference is to *Harl. MSS.* 7003, *f.* 176, and in others to *Add. MSS.* 5016*, *f.* 71. The fact is that the former is the original letter, and the latter a transcript of it in the handwriting of Dr. Birch, which, though nearly accurate, has, from its not being quite so legible as the original, led to inaccuracies in subsequent copies. Having stumbled on this fact at the Museum, I took the trouble of collating the two manuscripts; and the letter in the text is a *literatim* copy of the original.

† Lord Henley. (*Ivimey's Life of Milton*, p. 329.)

‡ The "if" is omitted in Birch's copy. Vertue had originally written "is," but altered it with the pen. The doubt expressed, though immaterial to our present purpose, is confirmatory of observations I have made elsewhere on the indifference with which Milton's widow was spoken of by his family.

§ "Above" in Birch's copy.

“much like the Prints. I shoud her the Painting I have to engrave
 “which she believes not to be her Father's picture, it being of a Brown
 “complexion & black hair & curled locks—on the contrary he was of a
 “fair complexion a little red in his cheeks & light brown lanck hair. I
 “desire you woud acquaint Mr. Prior I was so unfortunate to wait on him
 “on Thursday morning last just after he was gone out of Town—it was
 “with* this intent, to enquire of him if he remembers a picture of Milton
 “in the late Lord Dorsett's collection—as I am told this † was—or if he
 “can inform me how I shall enquire or know the truth of this affair. I
 “shoud be much obliged to him—being very willing to have all certainty
 “on that account before I begin to engrave the Plate—that it may be the
 “more satisfactory to the Publick as well as to my self. The sooner you
 “can communicate this the better—because I have to resolve which
 “I cant well do till I have an answer, which will much oblige, Your
 “Friend to command, Geo. Vertue. Saturday, Aug. 12, 1721. To Mr.
 “Charles Christian.”

The elder Richardson, in his “Explanatory Notes and Remarks on
 “Milton's ‘Paradise Lost,’” published in 1734, inserted an etching “from
 “an excellent original in crayons,” in his possession, and which he states
 in his introduction (p. ii.) he had reason to believe Milton sat for not long
 before his death. In a subsequent passage (p. xxxvi) he relates, as an
 evidence of Deborah Clarke's tender remembrance of her futher, that
 “this picture in crayons was shewn her after several others, or which were
 “pretended to be his. When those were shewn, and she was asked if she
 “could recollect if she had ever seen such a face, ‘No, no’; but when this
 “was produced,—in a transport—‘Tis my father—’tis my dear father—
 “I see him—’tis him;’ and then she put her hands to several parts of her
 “face—‘Tis the very man—here—here.’”

In the “Memoirs of Thomas Hollis,” edited in 1780 by Archdeacon
 Blackburne, is inserted a print drawn and etched by Cipriani, from a
 portrait in crayons in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, which, at p. 619,
 is described as “a drawing in crayons by William Faithorne, now in the

* “With” omitted in Birch's copy.

+ “As I am told *there* was” (*Ivimey's Life of Milton*, p. 329.) The difference in
 the sense is considerable; but the history of a portrait which turned out not to repre-
 sent Milton is unimportant, except so far as it bears on the discussion respecting the
 Cooper miniature, to be mentioned hereafter.



No. 21.

Portrait of Elizabeth I.



No. 54.

Portrait of Elizabeth I.



No. 76.

Portrait of Elizabeth I.



No. 67.

Portrait of Elizabeth I.

"hands of Messrs. Tonson, booksellers, in London;" and it is related that "about the year 1725 Mr. George Vertue, a worthy and eminent British antiquary, went on purpose to see Mrs. Deborah Clarke, Milton's youngest and favorite daughter, and some time his amanuensis, who then lodged in a mean little street near Moorfields, where she kept a school for children for her support. He took this drawing with him, and divers paintings said to be of Milton, all which were brought into the room by his contrivance, as if by accident, whilst he conversed with her. She took no notice of the paintings; but when she perceived the drawing she cried out, 'O Lord! that is the picture of my father—how came you by it?' And, stroking the hair of her forehead, added 'Just so my father wore his hair.' This daughter resembled Milton greatly."

There is no excuse for confounding the first of these three alleged visits to Deborah Clarke—when, after confirming the authenticity of several prints produced by Vertue, she condemned a painting which it was the special object of his visit to shew her—with the interview related by Richardson, when his crayon drawing was shewn her by some person unnamed, and recognized with apparent emotion after she had failed to recognize the likeness of others. The third interview, as related in Hollis's Memoirs, is full of inconsistencies, which it will be more convenient to notice in another place. What I here wish to observe is, that Hollis's biographer, in alluding to Tonson's crayon drawing attributed to Faithorne, in no manner connects it with Richardson's; nor does Richardson attribute his own crayon drawing to Faithorne, or mention Vertue as the person who shewed it to Deborah Clarke. In fact, though Cipriani's pencil has taken sad liberties with the expression, the Tonson drawing, as represented by him, has the attitude and costume identifying it with the Faithorne engraving; and is likely enough to have been Faithorne's original drawing in crayons—a mode of execution he is known to have adopted. (*See Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, 1st ed., p. 58.*) With Richardson's etching it has no one point of identity. In the latter the countenance is more upturned than in Faithorne's engraving; and the position of the head is such that the left shoulder and right cheek are nearest to the spectator; the collar, not at all partaking of any of the forms of a band, has the ends separating from each other at something less than a right angle, with cord and tassels between, the sides also approaching to straight lines; and the drapery falls from both shoulders so

as to form an angle a little to the right of the buttons, of which a row of five is exposed. But notwithstanding these marked distinctions, or rather this total absence of any point of similarity, the mention of two crayon drawings in connection with visits to Milton's daughter has led to a series of mistakes. Bishop Newton, at p. lvi. of his life of Milton (*Baskerville edition*, 1759), in a short notice containing another glaring mistake which I need not stop to point out, confounds them by speaking of the "portrait "in crayons, drawn when Milton was about sixty-two, and which was "in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by "Mr. Tonson." This may be *literally* true; for Richardson's drawing, as well as the other, may have eventually come into the possession of Tonson: but the statement is not the less calculated to mislead. Accordingly Warton gets deeper into the error, for he not only states, in his note at p. 530 (ed. 1791), that Faithorne's original engraving, which he had stated in the preceding page to be from a drawing in crayons, "was copied by "Vertue, one of his chief works, in 1725," (though I shall endeavour to shew presently that Vertue's portrait of that date had a common origin with Richardson's etching, and little in common with Faithorne,) but in the following page he states that "the Richard-sons, and next the Tonsons, "had the admirable crayon drawing above mentioned, done by Faithorne, "the best likeness extant, and for which Milton sate at the age of "sixty-two;" and after quoting, in relation to the same drawing, the interview between Vertue and Deborah Clarke, as told in Hollis's memoirs, adds, "This head by Faithorne was etched by Richardson, the father, about "1734, with the addition of a laurel crown to help the propriety of the "motto." Symmons repeats the error (pp. 515, 531, 1st ed.): and to make confusion worse confounded, Todd adopts verbatim the language of Warton, but adds that the drawing successively in the possession of Richardson and Tonson was then in the possession of Mr. Baker, who had allowed an engraving to be made from it for Todd's work. On turning, however, to the engraving last referred to, we find it to be without one point of identity with Faithorne or Cipriani's portraits, but with such marks of a common origin with Richardson's as I shall presently explain. Lastly, Mr. Cunningham, in a note to his edition of Johnson's "Lives of "the Poets" (I. 131), says—"The best portrait of Milton is that drawn "and engraved by Faithorne, prefixed to Milton's 'History of Britain,' "1670, 4to: Faithorne's original drawing is preserved, with other portraits



ANALYST: [REDACTED] DATE: [REDACTED]



1. Address _____
 2. City _____
 3. State _____
 4. Zip _____
 5. Phone _____
 6. Age _____
 7. Gender _____
 8. Occupation _____
 9. Education _____
 10. Marital Status _____
 11. Number of Children _____
 12. Number of Pets _____
 13. Number of Vehicles _____
 14. Number of Telephones _____
 15. Number of Computers _____
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*relaying from 1st Floor Classroom
to 2nd floor



Argument of Neptune's motion

“belonging to Tonson, including the Kit-kat collection, at Bayfordbury, “near Hertford, the seat of Mr. Baker.” I should create additional confusion if I were to go on repeating these statements in the language of successive commentators; but the errors of all of them are so completely condensed in a paragraph of a dozen lines by Mr. Keightley, that I may as well quote it:—“In 1670,” he says, “was a portrait engraved by “Faithorne, *from a crayon drawing* by himself, with this legend, ‘Gul. “Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Johannis Miltoni effigies. “Ætat. 62. 1670.’ This engraving has been often copied, [he adds in “a footnote, “there is one by Cipriani in Hollis’s Memoirs,] but as it was “not in Faithorne’s best manner, *a new copy* was made for the first edition “of Todd’s Milton, *from the original crayon drawing in the possession of “William Baker, Esq.* This drawing had passed through the hands of “*the Richardsons and Tonsons* to those of Mr. Baker. It was at the “sight of this, when shewn to her by Vertue, the engraver, among other “paintings and engravings, that Deborah Clarke made the exclamation “above related. All the best portraits of Milton are taken from it.” (*Keightley’s Life of Milton*, p. 132.) I have seen none of the drawings: but if the slightest reliance is to be placed upon the engravings, a glance at those published by Richardson, from the crayon drawing in his possession—by Hollis, from the crayon drawing in the possession of the Tonsons (and likely enough, as I have stated, to have been Faithorne’s original drawing)—and by Todd, from the drawing in the possession of Mr. Baker, would have shewn how distinct each was from the other, whatever of common origin there may have been between the first and third. It seems to me a most extraordinary fact, that a careless statement of Bishop Newton, upwards of a century ago, so far from being detected, should have gone on accumulating error as it passed through successive hands until the present time, without one of the gentlemen quoted thinking it necessary to compare the published portraits which they thus hastily assumed to have been engraved from a common original. In one instance it is curious to watch the effect of the mistake while two disputants are playing at cross purposes on the subject. In the discussion to which I shall have to make more particular reference in speaking of the Cooper miniature, and in which Sir Joshua Reynolds, under the signature of “R. J.,” discussed with Lord Hailes its pretensions to be accepted as a portrait of Milton, the former writes (*Gent. Mag.*, LXI, 603):—“In regard to the drop serene we

“can assure your correspondent that it is not visible in the miniature, and that he is mistaken in saying that it is visible in the crayon picture by Faithorne.” Lord Hailes replies (p. 886) with sarcastic ingenuity :—“It is said that the gutta serena, or rather its consequence, is not visible in Faithorne’s drawing of Milton. I never saw it ; but I supposed that it represented Milton as blind, because Richardson’s etching represented him so : and if Richardson has misled me, I must regret that I put my trust in a painter and connoisseur.” The explanation is obvious. Reynolds, whether speaking from a knowledge of the crayon drawing in the possession of the Tonsons, from Cipriani’s copy from it, or from Faithorne’s engraving, was justified in describing it as giving no indication of Milton’s blindness ; whereas Hailes, imagining that he was speaking of the same drawing, had reference to Richardson’s etching from another, one of the special merits of which was its rendering of the peculiar expression arising from the gutta serena, on which subject some observations of Richardson are quoted below.

What, then, was the “excellent original in crayons” from which Richardson made his etching in 1734, and which was recognized by Deborah Clarke as so striking a likeness of her father ? In considering this question I have been led to attach an unexpected degree of importance to a folio mezzotint, inscribed “R. White ad vivum delin. J. Simon fecit,” the precise date of which I have been unable to ascertain. I am told it is a rare print, though I find it marked at a trifling price in Evans’s catalogue, but I was not aware of its rarity until after I had discovered its importance. I have seen no copy except my own. There is none in the British Museum ; and it is not mentioned either in Granger or Bromley. Bryan, also, in his Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, fails to particularize it among Simon’s works ; but his editor, Stanley, mentions Milton’s among the heads engraved by that artist. What I here wish particularly to remark, with reference to this portrait, is its exact correspondence with Richardson’s etching of 1734. The former continues the drapery lower down the figure, so as, in fact, to constitute a half length ; but with this exception, and the wholly unimportant one of the portrait being reversed, every word of the description I have given of Richardson’s etching is precisely applicable to Simon’s mezzotint. The laureate wreath, however, with which, in both, the head is encircled, and which at first seemed one of the most satisfactory points of identity, presents a difficulty : the elucidation

tion of it will depend in a great measure on the date of Simon's print, which I have not yet been able to ascertain. Richardson expressly says (p. ii.):—"The laurel wreath is not in the picture; the two lines under it "are my reason for putting it there—not what otherwise would be "imagined: all the world has given it him long since." The presence of the laurel wreath in both prints cannot be explained away as a coincidence: for leaf by leaf, with the exception of a single leaf inserted in Simon's (the highest of the further branch), but omitted in Richardson's, the one wreath is a servile copy of the other. If, then, Simon's mezzotint was published previous to 1734, how comes it that Richardson, thus proved to have been familiar with it, avoids all allusion to it, asserts the wreath to be his own idea, and does not attribute the "excellent original," which he says he "has reason to believe Milton sate for not long before his death," either to Robert White or to any other artist by name? If Simon's print was published subsequent to 1734, the identity of the wreaths proves *him* to have been the copyist; and if so, on what evidence did he inscribe his print with "R. White ad vivum delineavit?" These questions I am compelled to leave unanswered. Internal evidence would tend to the conclusion that Simon's had priority in date, from the fact that the continuation of the folds, as above noticed, accounts for the direction of the lines of drapery in Richardson's etching, which are otherwise unmeaning. The truth is worth arriving at, if possible.* The result would probably affect the question whether there is good ground for retaining the name of White as the original artist, as I have ventured to do below for distinction's sake: but it would leave untouched the fact that the two prints had a common origin in a portrait, the veracity of which was confirmed by the best authority—that of Milton's daughter.

* The only clue I am aware of is the names of the two firms of publishers—"sold "by T. Bowles in Paul's Church-yard and J. Bowles in Cornhill." The period during which these two firms existed contemporaneously might possibly be ascertained; but it would only enable us to ascertain the minimum antiquity of the print; for one of our most eminent printsellers tells me he has an impression of having seen it with an earlier imprint than that of the firms of Bowles. The date of 1738 is assigned by Bromley to a folio mezzotint of Pope by J. Faber, from a picture painted by Kneller in 1721, which is stated to be "printed for Thos. Bowles in St. Paul's Churchyard, and John Bowles "and Son at the Black Horse in Cornhill." Simon's folio mezzotint of Shakespeare, from a picture attributed to Zoust, is supposed by Boaden and Wivell to have been published in or about 1725; and his folio mezzotint of Pope, from a painting by Dahl, is dated by Bromley 1728; but the first was by another publisher, and the second has no publisher's name. Bowles of the Black Horse is repeatedly mentioned in connection with the life of Hogarth; see the papers in the first vol. of the Cornhill Magazine.

I consider the same original to have been the source from which, with more or less artistic license, were derived Vertue's celebrated head of 1725 ; I. Vandergucht's folio ; another engraving by Vertue, greatly altered in expression and costume, in 1750 ; and lastly, an engraving by Miller, inserted in an edition of Newton's Milton, published by the Tonsons in 1759, and of which I consider the original is likely enough to have been the drawing which passed from the possession of the Tonsons to Mr. Baker, as stated by Todd and Cunningham, or at least another drawing from the same original. All these portraits will be duly described below, and treated (to borrow a phrase from physical science) as *typical forms*, in connection with which I have thought it desirable to arrange the various prints to which they have respectively given rise. That all these are trustworthy representations of our great poet I am far from as-erting. On the contrary, the extent to which various engravers have departed from the originals they professed to copy is absurd enough ; but I have treated them as authentic to this extent, that their origin can be traced directly or remotely to portraits the history of which is satisfactorily shewn, or which have been vouched by the family of the poet.

To these succeed the prints which have been derived from monuments, busts and seals. There remain a remarkable variety of portraits, which have been published with the name of Milton, some of which may be—others cannot possibly be—and none, in my opinion, are satisfactorily proved to be from pictures intended to represent him. The history of these portraits, or pretended portraits, will more conveniently be noticed when we come to describe them ; and I will now proceed with my catalogue in the order I have indicated.

JANSSEN'S PORTRAIT.

The name of this artist has been given by common consent—though I know not on what authority, prior to that of Cipriani, except the judgment of connoisseurs—to the picture referred to by Aubrey, in his notes written shortly after Milton's death (p. 337 in *Godwin's reprint*):—"A° Dⁿⁱ 1619 "he was ten yeares old as by his picture and was then a poet : his school "master then was a Puritan in Essex who cutt his haire short," that is not his own hair, but the hair of his pupil, as explained by Professor Masson (p. 51, n.). It was one of the pictures which remained in the possession of Milton's widow until her death in 1727, and were enumerated



in the testamentary inventory of her effects, which I had the pleasure of bringing under the notice of the Historic Society in 1855. On the 3rd of June, 1760, it was purchased by Mr. Hollis, at the sale by auction of the effects of Mr. Charles Stanhope, who had mentioned to him, about two months before, that he had bought it of the executors of Milton's widow for twenty guineas. (*Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, p. 95.) Warton mentions that the price at which it was purchased at Stanhope's sale was thirty-one guineas, and that Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied that his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it. (*Warton*, p. 530 n., ed. 1791.) It was this picture which Mr. Hollis was so careful to preserve on the occasion of his lodgings being on fire a few months subsequent to his purchase. The story is told in his memoirs, p. 106. The picture passed, with the other antiquities and curiosities collected by Mr. Hollis, to Mr. Thomas Brand Hollis, who left them by will to his friend Dr. Disney, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, near Ingatestone. It is described by Professor Masson as about twenty-seven inches by twenty in size, with the frame, the portrait set in a dark oval, and with the words "John Milton, ætatis suæ 10, Anno 1618" inscribed on the paint in contemporary characters, but no painter's name. This minuteness of description is important with reference to another portrait, to be mentioned shortly, which has been confounded with the present one. The first engraving from Mr. Disney's picture was that published in Hollis's memoirs:—

1. John Milton. Drawn and etched MDCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, from a picture painted by Cornelius Johnson MDCXVIII, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's Inn, F.R. and A.SS. Portrait enclosed in an oval wreath of roses; and below, as in all the prints engraved under the direction of the Hollises, their favorite device of the Cap of Liberty. (*See Dibdin's Lib. Com.* 555 n.) Subjoined are some lines from "Paradise Regained," which Professor Masson considers were really written by the poet with some reference to his own recollections of himself as a child:—

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing," &c.

The print is mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

2. John Milton. Ætat. 10. From an original picture in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., near the Hyde, Essex. Cornelius Jansen pinxit.

W. N. Gardiner sculp.; an oval, 6.2 × 5.9 * in plate, 9.8 × 6.7; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah Boydell and George Nicol, in the sumptuous edition of the Poetical Works, in 3 vols. royal folio, known as Boydell's Milton.

3. Milton. *Æt.* 10. After a photograph from the original picture, in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex; engraved by Edward Radclyffe; a beautiful line engraving, forming one of the illustrations to the first volume of Masson's *Life of Milton*.

4. Anon. An engraving almost in outline, forming an illustration to the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1787), vol. lvii, p. 759, in which is printed a letter signed "Z. Z.," dated from Oxford, and sending the drawing from which this is engraved, and which it states "a friend, who lives there, has obligingly suffered to be taken from a picture in his possession. It is on wood. At top is 'A° 1623. *Æt. sue* '12.' In the hands of the figure is a book with 'Homer's Iliads' on the leaves. The hair is red. This drawing is very like, only perhaps somewhat older than the picture." A correspondent, at p. 892 of the same volume, points out the identity of the portrait with that engraved by Cipriani in Hollis's *Memoirs*—adds that the dates correspond (which, however, is not the case)—and signs his communication "Q. E. D." This is getting on rather too fast, for it is evident there were two portraits in existence; but though, in addition to the discrepancies apparent from the above notice, the sketchy outline of the print shews a marked difference in costume (the square-fronted erect band of Mr. Disney's portrait being replaced by a falling-band of similar pattern †), the resemblance in feature between the two portraits is too close to have been the result of accident. That a copy of the original picture should have been taken while it was in the possession either of Mrs. Milton, her executor, Mr. Stanhope, or Mr. Hollis, is improbable, and we are driven to the conjecture either that the painter of Mr. Disney's portrait (whether Janssen or some one else) was tainted with a mannerism which would deprive his pictures of all claim to individuality, or that, being employed to paint another portrait of the young scholar at the age of twelve he had made free use of his original picture. This supposition would still leave an error of at least two years unaccounted for, if the date 1623 be correctly printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," and I scarcely dare offer it even as a conjecture: but if it should turn out to be correct, it would follow that there may yet be in existence an almost unknown portrait of Milton, with better claims to authenticity than some which have had their pretensions more loudly asserted.

THE ONSLOW PORTRAIT.

By this name is known the other of the two portraits enumerated in the inventory of Mrs. Milton's effects. Warton (p. 530, ed. 1791) says, that

* The measurements are throughout in inches and tenths.

† See note on Ruffs and Bands, *ante*.



FIG. 4.



No. 5.

"by some it is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton." By whom suspected, or on what grounds, I know not. There are few portraits with a better authenticated pedigree. Its existence, in the custody of Mrs. Milton, was known to Aubrey, who wrote in 1681 (p. 337 of *Godwin's reprint*):—"His widowe has his picture drawne (very well and like) when "a Cambridge schollar: she has his picture when a Cambridge schollar, "which ought to be engraven; for the pictures before his bookes" [alluding to Marshal's in 1645 and Faithorne's in 1670] "are not at all like him:" and made a memorandum (p. 345,) to "write his name in red letters on "his picture with his widowe to preserve." In 1721 Deborah Clarke informed Vertue (see his letter above) that her mother-in-law, if living, in Cheshire, had two pictures of him, one when he was a school-boy, and the other when he was about twenty. In 1731, only four years after Mrs. Milton's death, we find it in the possession of Mr. Speaker Onslow, and engraved by Vertue; and as late as 1794 it was stated in the inscription to the engraving in Boydell's Milton to be "in the possession of Lord "Onslow, at Clandon, in Surrey, purchased from the executor of Milton's "widow by Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, as "certified in his own handwriting on the back of the picture." It is mentioned by Professor Masson (vol. I, p. 278) that the picture is not now in the possession of the present Earl of Onslow. The information I have obtained as to its history since it left his lordship's custody and present place of deposit is such as I do not feel warranted in making public. It is much to be desired that this relic should find a permanent resting place beside the Chandos Shakespeare in the National Portrait Gallery. It seems to have been known to Warton, who observes that "the picture "is handsomer than the engravings, and that the ruff is much in the neat "style of painting ruffs about and before 1628." The engravings from it are numerous:—

5. Joannes Milton. Æt. 21. Vertue, sc. Ex pictura archetypa quæ penes est præhonorabilem Arthurum Onslow, Arm: Vertue sc. 1731. 4to. I extract this description from Granger, having been unlucky in not meeting with a copy. He mentions that it differs from the next described only in the inscription. Bromley also mentions it.

6. Ioannes Milton. Ætatis XXI. G. Vertue sculp. 1731; in a square panel, with ornamented top, surmounting and partly concealing the top and sides of an oval. The name and age are on two ribands below, between which is a circular escutcheon charged with a single-headed eagle (in which Vertue's heraldic know-

ledge was at fault, for the eagle borne by Milton was double-headed, as proved by his two seals *), and beneath is a pedestal, on the two ends of which stand busts of Homer and Virgil; and on the front is inscribed "*Nascuntur Poetæ, non fiunt.*" Published in Bentley's edition of "*Paradise Lost*," 4to, London, 1732. Mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

7. The same plate, with Dryden's lines substituted for the "*Nascuntur Poetæ, non fiunt*," and the date badly altered from 1731 to 1747, is prefixed to Newton's edition of "*Paradise Lost*," 2 vols. 4to, London, 1749, which Hollis's biographer (see p. 117) supposed to be the original condition of the plate.

8. Ioannes Milton. *Ætatis suæ 21. G. Vertue sculp.* An oval, with slight scroll ornament at top, and below a riband, with name and age, above a plinth; size of plate 6 × 3.8; published in Newton's edition of "*Paradise Regained*," 8vo. London, 1773; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

9. John Milton. In the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq. Speaker of the House of Common. I. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1741. Impensis I. & P. Knapton, London, 1741. An oval, representing masonry, inscribed with name; at foot a pedestal; and in front of it ornaments consisting of a lyre surmounted by cherub head, a book, serpent with apple, &c.; size of plate 14.2 × 8.9. One of the series of folio plates known as Houbraken's heads; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

10. Joannes Milton, *Ætatis XXI. Andrew Miller fecit, Dublin, 1744*; a copy of the last in mezzotint, including the ornaments, but reversed; and on the pedestal the motto "*Nascuntur Poetæ, non fiunt*;" size of plate 13.6 × 10.1.

11. John Milton. Drawn and etched MDCCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, at the desire of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.SS., from a picture in the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament. Portrait enclosed in an oval, formed by intertwining boughs of laurel, and below Milton's sonnet—"How soon hath time," &c. The print is mentioned by Granger and Bromley, and forms one of the series in Hollis's Memoirs.

12. John Milton. In the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq., Goldar sculpt. Some further lettering has been badly erased. An oval, in a rectangular frame of tooth and egg pattern; size of frame 7.5 × 6.4.

13. John Milton. Published by R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater Noster Row, 1752, for the London Magazine. An oval, representing masonry of four voussoirs, with name inscribed, and resting on a plinth; size of plate 5.7 × 4.1.

14. John Milton. An oval, representing masonry of six voussoirs, with segments cut off at top, bottom, and sides; no plinth; name at foot; size of plate 4.7 × 3.7; in the fifth volume of the *British Biography*, published by Baldwin, 7 vols., 8vo, London, 1766-72.

* See Masson's Life, vol. i., p. 4.

15. John Milton. In same plate with Algernon Sydney, John Hamden, and Andrew Marvel; four ovals, in slightly ornamented frames, connected by interlacing ornament; size of each frame 2.5×1.8 .

16. John Milton. In same plate with Ben Johnson, Robert Boyle, Esq., and John Locke, Esq.; four plain ovals, 2×1.8 ; I. June sc.

17. John Milton. *Ætat.* 21. From an original picture in the possession of Lord Onslow, at Clandon, in Surrey, purchased from the executors of Milton's widow by Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, as certified in his own handwriting on the back of the picture; an oval, 6.2×5.9 , in plate, 9.8×6.7 ; W. N. Gardiner sculpt; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah Boydell and George Nicol; in Boydell's Milton.

18. John Milton. *Ætat.* XXI. Woolnoth sc.

19. Anon. Cornelius Jansen! W. C. Edwards. J. Yates, Printer. London, John Macrone, St. James's Square, and E. Graves, King William Street, Strand. In Macrone's edition, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. The assigning of the picture to Cornelius Janssen has arisen from confounding its history with that of the portrait first described: the artist is wholly unknown.

20. Milton, *ætat.* 21. Engraved by Edward Radclyffe, after Vertue's engraving in 1731, from the original picture, then in the possession of the Right Hon. Speaker Onslow; in Masson's *Life of Milton*.

MARSHAL'S ENGRAVING.

This portrait, which appeared in Humphrey Moseley's original edition of Milton's poems, in 1645, is one of considerable rarity and importance. It was the subject of the Greek epigram "*In effigiei ejus sculptorem*," in which the poet gave vent to his dissatisfaction with the manner in which Marshal had executed his task. Whether the complaint was directed against the coarseness of the engraving, or the unfavorable representation of Milton's personal appearance, is a point which, though it has given rise to some discussion, is not of much importance; for it is generally believed that Marshal was the designer as well as engraver of the head; and the term "*ζωγραφος*" in the epigram is applicable to him in either capacity. Horace Walpole says that Marshal was "employed by Moseley, the book-seller, to grave heads for books of poetry; and from their great similarity in drawing and ornaments Vertue supposed that he drew from the life, though he has not expressed *ad vivum* as was the custom afterwards; and he was confirmed in this conjecture by a print of Milton, at the age of 21, with which Milton, who was handsome, and Marshal but a coarse engraver, seems to have been discontented, by some Greek lines that are

“added to the bottom of the plate. Vertue adds that from this to 1670 “he knows no engraving of Milton, when Faithorne executed one with “*ad vivum delineavit et sculpsit*; and this Vertue held for the most “authentic likeness of that great poet, and thought Marshal’s and Faithorne’s bore as much resemblance as could be expected between features “of 21 and 62.” (*Walpole’s Catalogue of Engravers*, 1st ed., p. 38.) The fact just noticed, namely, that this print was the only engraved portrait by which Milton’s supposed features were known to the public between 1645 and 1670—a period which embraced nearly the whole range of his controversial writings—invests it with an importance far beyond its merits. Salmasius, in a passage in his “*Defensio Regia*,” quoted by Walpole and Warton, applies to it the epithet of “*comptulam*”; but this could only have been meant to apply to the dress. The features would rather seem to have justified some of the terms in which the same author, in his posthumous work “*Ad Joannem Miltonum Responsio*” attributes to Milton “*frontem ferream, cor plumbeum, animum improbum, malam linguam, “stylum atrocem.*” (*Responsio*, p. 2). The same impression as is indicated by the epithet “*comptulam*” led the author of “*Regii sanguinis clamor*” to taunt him with being a Narcissus; to which Milton, in a passage in his “*Defensio pro se*,” also partly quoted by Warton, replies:—“Narcissus “*nunc sum, quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei “dissimillimam, prefixam poematis, vidisti. Ego vero si impulsu et ambitione librarii me imperito scalptori, propterea quod in urbe alius eo belli “tempore non erat, infabre scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potius “eam rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objicis.*” (*Prose Works*, ed. 1698, vol. 3, p. 123.) This passage goes far towards settling the question as to the date of the portrait. The engraving is spoken of as having been executed “*eo belli tempore*” applicable to the date of its publication; and no hint is given of its having been engraved, as Warton assumes, from some earlier drawing or painting in 1629, so as to justify the inscription of “*Anno Ætatis Vigess: Pri:*”. The apparent age, which in 1645 would be thirty-seven—the generally received opinion that Marshal’s prints were usually from the life—and the passage from Milton’s “*Defensio pro se*,” in which he accounts for the badness of the likeness by a reason which, though valid in relation to an original portrait in 1645, could have no reference to an earlier one then copied, combine to shew that in assigning the age of twenty-one to his print Marshal was as reck-



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less of dates as of resemblance to his original. I have only one conjecture to offer towards explaining away the difficulty. Though it is impossible, comparing the Marshal with the Onslow portrait, to treat the one as a copy of the other, it is possible that Marshal may have been allowed access to the Onslow portrait to aid him in the absence of the sitter; and the adoption of the date which actually belonged to the Onslow portrait may thus in some way have originated. The engravings may be described as follows:—

21. Ioannis Miltoni Angli Effigies Anno Ætatis Vigess: Pri: (inscribed round an oval) W. M. Sculp. In the background an Arcadian scene; and in the four corners, outside the oval, the Muses Melpomene, Erato, Urania, and Clio, with their names; beneath, the Greek epigram:—

Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδ᾽ ἐμὴν εἰκόνα
Φαίης τάχ' ἂν, πρὸς εἶδος ἀποφύεξ βλέπων.
Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπῶτ' οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες, φίλοι
Γελάτε φάθλον δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

The size of the plate is 5.7 × 3.6. Its market value is more proportioned to its rarity than its beauty. An impression at the sale of Sir William Musgrave's duplicates sold for £4 18s., and the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* quotes the price of a copy of the minor poems, 1645, with the plate, at £5, and another with Vandergucht's copy of it at £1 11s. 6d. It is of course mentioned in all the works on English engraved heads, and is much coveted by collectors.

22. Id. A good modern copy of the same print is of frequent occurrence.

23. Ioannis Miltoni Angli Effigies Anno Ætatis 21. M. V. dr. Gucht sc. A reduced copy of the above; the sides and top of the oval partly cut away; and the four Muses in the corner omitted. This print is mentioned by Granger and Bromley, and was prefixed to Tonson's edition of "Paradise Regained," 12mo, London, 1713, the engraver innocently copying the Greek inscription and appending his own name, without being aware that he was applying the censure to himself.

* This epigram and other Greek verses of Milton are the subject of a severe critique by Dr. Burney, which formed an appendix to Warton's second edition of the *Minor Poems*. Whatever may be their faults of syntax and prosody, it must be admitted that the lines are destitute of epigrammatic point, to an extent which enables them almost to defy translation; but the following will convey something like the sense and spirit of the original:—

Who, that my real lineaments has scanned,
Will not in this detect a bungler's hand?
My friends, in doubt on whom his art was tried,
The idiot limner's vain attempt deride.

Milton's strictures on the engraver were made the subject of attack by Salmasius, who, in answer to a grossly offensive play upon the Latin form of his name (for an explanation of the allusion see *Ov. Met.* iv. 285) writes:—"Quis nomen Salmacidis magis meretur, quam ille, qui quod est feminarum sibi arrogat, et de solo formæ bono gloriatur, qui etiam sculptori suo versibus editis in vulgus maledixit, quod se minus formosum quam revera se esse putaret, pinxerit?" (*Responsio*, p. 39.)

Warton, in noticing this in a note to his first edition (p. 546), adds that he is "not sure if Vertue has not fallen into the same unlucky mistake." If so, I have not met with the print by Vertue to which he alludes; and from the passage being omitted in Warton's second edition, and an allusion substituted to Vertue's quotation from the *Odyssey*, I presume the original observation was found to have been written in error.

FAITHORNE'S ENGRAVING.

The peculiarities of this portrait of Milton have been already sufficiently noticed. It is one of the "pictures before his books" condemned as not at all like him in Aubrey's note; but being the only likeness of the poet taken at mature age, and published in his lifetime, it has been more frequently copied than any of the others.

24. *Ioannis Miltoni Effigies* .Etat. 62, 1670, inscribed on the face of a low pedestal, on the top of which is "*Gul. Faithorne ad vivum Delin. et sculpsit.*" The portrait is an oval, of 4.9×4.2 inside measure; and the entire plate forms a 4to, measuring 7×5.2 ; published, as before mentioned, in Milton's *History of Britain*, in the year it bears date. It is mentioned in Granger and Bromley; and a good impression of the plate in its original state is worth a couple of guineas.

25. *Id.* A modern copy of the preceding. The impressions are common; but they are extremely coarse, and convey an idea of the features very different from the original engraving, which, however, is not in Faithorne's best manner, and would not justify the compliment paid him by his friend Flatman, who says:—

"A 'Faithorne sculpsit' is a charm can save
From dull oblivion and a gaping grave."

26. *Joannis Miltoni Effigies* Natus Anno 1608, Obiit Anno 1674. *Gul. Faithorne ad vivum Delin. et sculpsit.* The oval as in the former, but standing on a deep panelled surface, having in front Milton's arms and crest, so as to form a folio plate 8.5×5.2 ; in Toland's edition of the prose works, 1698. Each impression is, however, struck off from two plates; for which purpose the original, published in 1670, has been cut away immediately below the name of the engraver, and the oblique lines forming the ends of the upper surface of the pedestal erased, and the horizontal lines of shading continued to the edge of the plate. The fact of this alteration having been made shews that the modern impressions of the 4to plate are copies, and are not struck from the original plate worn and retouched.

27. *Ioannis Miltoni Effigies* .Etat. 62. 1670. A plate so much in Faithorne's manner that it has the appearance of his plate cut down at the sides, and without the "*Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit*" on the top of the pedestal; but a closer inspection shews in every part, and especially by a reduction in the scale, that this is a copy. The entire plate measures 6.6×4.2 , and the interior of the oval 4.4×3.9 . In the sale catalogue of Sir Mark Sykes's collection (1824) is



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described a copy of the Faithorne print "before the plate was reduced." I am not aware that the plate ever was reduced, unless the removal of the lower portion for the purpose of the folio impressions can be so described; and believe the compiler of the catalogue had derived his impression from a hasty inspection of the print now under description.

28. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies .Etat. 63. 1671. W. Dolle sculpsit. A copy, on a reduced scale, from Faithorne's 4to, and similar in all the arrangements; size of plate 5.1×3.1 ; published in the "*Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*," 12mo, London, 1672, and again in the second edition of "*Paradise Lost*," in 1674, and the third in 1678; mentioned by Granger.

29. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies .Etat. 63. 1671. No name of engraver; a close copy of the last except in the features, the expression of which is considerably varied, and the plate is a trifle smaller each way.

30. Mr. John Milton obt. anno 1674, ætat. 66. I. Simon fecit. Mezzotint; oval, with a wavy fillet in the two upper corners; size of plate 6.8×5 . The only copy I have seen is in the print room of the British Museum, and it is believed to be a portion of the plate described in Bromley's catalogue as a mezzotint, one of four portraits, the others being Beaumont, Fletcher and Cowley: but the ornamentation is certainly different from those and other uniform portraits with which I am acquainted, published by Bowles in sets of four, by Simon and Faber, all of which are in ovals formed of palm branches. The folio mezzotint by Simon, already alluded to and hereafter to be described, must not be confounded with the present print, which is copied from the Faithorne portrait.

31. Anon. R. White sculp. Portrait in an oval formed of leaves and bold and peculiar scroll work; and at foot, in an ornamented panel, Dryden's hacknied lines, here published for the first time:—

"Three poets in three distant ages born," &c.

Size of plate 10.5×7 ; published in the fourth edition of "*Paradise Lost*," folio, London, 1688, and various subsequent editions; mentioned by Granger and Bromley. The costume and attitude proclaim this to be a copy of the Faithorne portrait; and the features do not vary from it so far as to suggest a doubt on the subject; but yet there is a marked change in them, consisting principally in an increased roundness in the lower part of the face, and less severity in the expression. Both these distinguishing features are also to some extent observable in the folio mezzotint by Simon; and if the original of the latter was, as it purports to have been, a drawing from the life by Robert White, we may trace to the influence of his actual knowledge of Milton's features the slight deviation from the Faithorne engraving, of which that now under discussion is evidently a copy.

32. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies, ob. 1674, Æt. 66. G. Vertue sculp. Portrait in an oval, of which the sides are partly concealed by a kind of architrave, and the top by a curtain, looped up at the left corner by a loosely flowing fillet, and terminating

in a tassel on the right side. On the curtain are the poet's name and date of death as above, and in a framed panel at foot, within a peculiar scroll, Dryden's lines. The plate appeared in Tonson's edition of the Poetical Works, in 2 vols., 4to, London, 1720; mentioned by Granger and Bromley; size 8.8×6.1 . In this, as in the last described print, there is a softened expression, to be accounted for by Vertue's thorough acquaintance with all the representations of the features of Milton, and among others the drawing attributed to White, of which, I have come to the conclusion, Vertue made a more direct use in his portrait of 1725.

33. Joannes Milton. *Ætatis LXII. 1670. G. Vertue sculp.* Closely resembling the preceding, and probably an alteration of the same plate; the difference being that in the print now under description the lettering on the curtain is the name and age as above, and in the panel at foot Dryden's lines are replaced by a quotation from Homer's *Odyssey*, B. viii, l. 63. printed in four lines:—

“Τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ’ ἐφίλησε,” &c.

Published in Bentley's edition of “*Paradise Lost*,” 4to, London, 1732; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

34. The same plate, with the date altered to 1747, was prefixed to the second volume of Newton's edition of “*Paradise Lost*,” 2 vols., 4to, London, 1749, which Hollis's *Biographer* (see p. 117) treats as the original condition of the plate.

35. Anon. J. Gwinn sculp. Size 5.6×3.7 . In the arrangement of the portrait, curtain, and scroll-headed panel containing Dryden's lines, there is evidence of this plate having been copied from Vertue's first 4to print after Faithorne. It is a coarse but scarce print, and is found in Grierson's edition of the “*Paradise Lost*” and “*Paradise Regained*,” published in Dublin in 1724; but it has scarcely the appearance of having been engraved for the book, which is a 12mo, and the print has to be folded both ways to admit of its insertion.

36. Anon. G. Vertue sculp. (the G. and V. combined in one letter.) Rectangle; with Dryden's lines and the name “Dryden” at foot. Granger describes a portrait thus:—“Milton; Vertue sc., sm. 12mo.” There are several portraits prefixed to Tonson's 12mo editions and elsewhere, so similar to each other, and to which Granger's description may be intended to refer, that a minute account of this and the two following prints may be desirable. The size of the engraving in the present, exclusive of the lines, is 3.7×2.8 ; portrait facing towards its proper left; in third line “thought” printed without a capital, and “Surpas'd” with capital and one s in last syllable; in fourth line no comma after “majesty”; in fifth “farther” “goe”; and in sixth “*former two*” in italics without capitals.

37. Same description except as follows:—size 3.8×2.6 ; “Thought” with capital; “surpass'd” without capital; comma after “majesty”; “farther go”; “Two” in Roman letters and a capital T; no name of engraver.

38. Same description except as follows:—size 3.7×2.8 ; face towards proper right; “thought” without capital, and “Surpass'd” with; comma after “majesty”;

"further goe"; "Former" with capital and "*two*" in italics without; no name of engraver.

39. Milton. G. Vertue sculp. One of five ovals forming an 8vo page, the centre portrait being Chaucer, and the others Milton, Butler, Cowley and Waller; mentioned by Granger and Walpole. It forms one of the illustrations to Jacob's Poetical Register, 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1723, but the plates have the appearance of having been collected from various sources, and this may previously have appeared elsewhere.

40. Anon. Portrait in Faithorne costume &c., but with still further divergence in feature; in a circle formed by a serpent, bordered, at a distance of $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch, by a circular border, extended at the sides by two shells, and contracted at the top by the boundary of the plate, and at the bottom by a pedestal with the inscription—

* * * * Cui mens divini, atque os
Magna sonaturum * * * *

size of entire engraving, which has the appearance of a vignette, 3.8×2.6 ; mentioned by Granger, who ascribes it to Vertue.

Granger describes another plate:—"Milton; in a small round encompassed with a serpent; Vertue sc." If this be a separate print I have not seen it, and know not whether it would be correctly inserted in this place.

41. Anon. Portrait in a circle 1.2 in diameter, on a wreathed pedestal, between two sphynxes, in the attitude of heraldic supporters; appears to be a vignette, or cut from a larger plate.

42. The Effigie of John Milton: author of "Paradise Lost." In an oval, on a diapered ground, and partly covered at foot by a border of acanthus leaves, surrounding a vignette of the Temptation; at the corners formed by the lower part of the oval, are several volumes, of which two are open, and are inscribed with the titles of "Comus" and "Lycidas." This is a carefully engraved plate, measuring probably about 4.7×2.7 ; but my copy, which is the only one I have ever seen, has been somewhat cut down. The features have an expression differing considerably from any of the Faithorne portraits before noticed.

43. Milton. G. Faithorne delt., Landon direct. A copy of the Faithorne print in outline, for the Hist. d' Angleterre.

44. Joannis Miltoni. Æt. LXII. MDCLXX. Gul. Faithorne ad viv. del. Car. Knight sculp. A handsome engraving, in an oval, standing on a pedestal, with name and age as above on the front, and on the base "Sana posteritas sciet"; size of plate 6.5×4.4 ; prefixed to Capel Lofft's second edition of the first and second books of "Paradise Lost," published at Bury St. Edmunds in 1793. In the preface to his first edition, published in 1792 (p. xxv), he says—"If any engraving accompanies this edition, it will be only the portrait of Milton, in the most unembellished style, from the engraving which was prefixed to the second edition." It is curious that Lofft was at this time, as he admitted in his subsequent edition, unac-

quantum with the existence of the Faithorne portrait, and knew it only from Dolle's copy.

45. John Milton, aged 62. Engraved from an original by William Faithorne, published 1670. Published 13 June, 1796, by L. & H. Richter. An oval, measuring 5×4.1 ; prefixed to Richter's edition of "Paradise Lost," 4to, London, 1794; so that the above date or that of the imprint of the volume is an error.

46. Milton. Faithorne pinxt. 1670. Woodman, Jun., scul. Rectangular; in frame surmounted with a panel containing a trumpet and laurel wreath, and at foot a wreathed sarcophagus, inscribed with name as above; size of engraving 5.6×3.6 ; published Nov. 1st, 1807, by Mathews and Leigh. It appears to be uniform with the series of portraits issued by the same publishers in the "Cabinet; or Monthly 'Report of Polite Literature,'" but I do not find it inserted in the volume of the date it bears.

47. John Milton. P. Roberts sculp. No background; published by T. Dolby, Oct. 1, 1821.

48. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). H Robinson sc. London, William Pickering, 1831. A beautifully engraved oval, 2.6×2.2 ; published in his Aldine edition of Milton.

49. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). Gul. Faithorne ad vivum del. Cochran sculp. Engraved for Ivinney's Life of Milton; published by Ffingham Wilson, 5 Jan., 1833.

50. John Milton. Engraved by W. C. Edwards; published by Westley and Davis, London; prefixed to Fletcher's edition of the prose works, royal 8vo, London, 1833; rectangle, 4.9×4 exclusive of lettering. The softened expression already noticed indicates that this has been engraved from Vertue's copy of the Faithorne portrait.

51. Milton. London, L. Tallis, 8vo; published in Leonard Townsend's "Alphabetical Chronology of Remarkable Events."

52. An octagon, 3.7×3.1 ; a neatly finished modern engraving, which, being only known to me by a proof before letters, I am unable to describe further.

53. Jo. Milton, 1631 (facsimile of autograph). Engraved by W. Humphreys, from a print by Faithorne, London, William Pickering, Ap. 23, 1851. Rectangular, 4.9×3.9 ; and at foot, above the signature, a facsimile of Milton's inscription in his copy of Aratus, now in the British Museum:—

"Cum sole, et Lunâ semper Aratus erit."

OTHERS DERIVED FROM THE FAITHORNE PORTRAIT.

We come now to a class of prints, in which the likeness presents so great a divergence from the features we have been contemplating, that I have thought it best to class them under a separate heading. The costume



and attitude evidence their origin, remotely at least, from Faithorne's portrait: and I think it probable that another drawing from it by Cipriani, while in the possession of the Tonsons, may have led the way to the great variety of feature we shall shortly have to notice. The identity of Messrs. Tonson's drawing with Faithorne's original I am not disposed to question; but the story related in Hollis's memoirs (*p.* 619) of Vertue's going on purpose to see Mrs. Clarke at her lodgings near Moorfields, and causing divers paintings, and this drawing which he took with him, to be brought into the room as if by accident, is inconsistent from beginning to end, and suggests the idea that it had its origin in a confused recollection of Vertue's and Richardson's accounts of two other interviews with Deborah Clarke. That the scene described might have taken place in his own studio would seem more possible: but that while calling on her at her lodgings, painting after painting could have been brought into her own room "as if by accident" without attracting her attention is inconceivable. Her surprise at the sight of the drawing is scarcely less remarkable: for if it was Faithorne's original, she must have known of its existence, and been as familiar as we are with the engravings from it, even if she had left her father's house before the original was taken, and had never seen it, and I think the probability is it was taken before she went to Ireland. The drawing however needed no such anecdote to authenticate it. If it agreed with the Faithorne engraving, Vertue's own opinion to that effect, formed on internal evidence, would have been infinitely more valuable than Mrs. Clarke's; and there is no apparent improbability of its having been—what Hollis supposed it to be—the original of that engraving. In the faithfulness of Cipriani's representation of the features I confess I have less confidence, and I attribute, in a great measure, to the influence of his engraving the great variety of features found among subsequent prints, the costume and attitude of which attest their origin in the Faithorne portrait.

54. John Milton. Drawn and etched MDCLX^c, by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, at the desire of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.S.S., from a portrait in crayons, now in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, Booksellers in the Strand, London. Portrait enclosed in an oval wreath of laurel; and below, the quotation:—

"I sing with mortal voice unchang'd," &c.

The print is mentioned by Granger; and forms one of the Hollis series.

55. John Milton. J. Hall sculpt. Printed for John Bell, March 1st, 1777.

An oval suspended from wreath and riband; below, the name on a label; size 4×2.4 .

56. Id. Another, very similar, in Bell's *British Poets*.

57. Milton. From Vertue. Milton sculpt. Published by Harrison and Co., Dec., 1795. Oval, 1.9×1.4 ; engraved as a vignette illustration to a short biographical notice. It may possibly have been copied from one of Vertue's 4to. prints; but the features induce me to insert it in this place.

58. Anon. J. Miller sc. An oval much covered with drapery; and beneath, in a circle, a lyre and laurel branches. This portrait is inserted here on the strength of the costume: but both as regards it and many subsequent ones it will be unnecessary to repeat that they present every shade of dissimilarity from the original from which they are derived.

59. Anon. Holbrook sc. A bad copy of the last mentioned plate, but reversed, and with Dryden's lines at foot; prefixed to some copies of the prose retranslation of *Paradise Lost* from Raymond de St. Maur, 8vo, London, 1773.

60. I. Milton. N. Parr sculp. An oval, 1.3×1.2 , suspended by a riband.

61. Milton. Bartolozzi sculp. A circle, partly surrounded by laurel branches and fillet; on a pedestal inscribed with name; 4.7×2.8 .

62. Milton. R. H. Cromek sculp. Very similar to the last; circle surmounted by laurel boughs; name on panel; size 3.8×2.6 .

63. Anon. From an original painting. Heath sculp. Resembling the preceding; qy published in Aikin's *British Poets*, 1802.

64. Milton. Engraved by W. T. Fry; published by Thomas Tegg; in Howard's *Beauties of Milton*. Ornamented rectangular frame, 4.2×2.5 ; the name on a festoon overhanging the top. The portrait has a strong resemblance to Cipriani's engraving.

65. Anon. One of three portraits, in circles $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, in the title page of the *Beauties of Milton*, Thomson and Young, published by Kearsley, 12mo, London, 1783.

66. John Milton. A. Haenish delt., Schenck and McFarlane, Lithographers, Edinburgh. Folio print.

THE WHITE PORTRAIT, OR SIMON'S FOLIO MEZZOTINT.

The importance I am inclined to attach to this portrait and my reasons for it have been discussed in my introductory observations; and the description I have already given renders unnecessary any further detail. The doubt there suggested furnishes the reason for my having provisionally given it an alternative title, until I am able to ascertain whether it was published before or after 1734.





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67. Mr. John Milton. R. White ad vivum delin. J. Simon fecit. Sold by T. Bowles in Paul's Church yard and J. Bowles in Cornhill. Mezzotint; size 11.2 x 9.2, within the plain oval frame; and at foot Dryden's lines in double columns. I have elsewhere mentioned the apparent rarity of this head, and the absence of mention of it by Granger or Bromley. It is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sutherland collection (1837), a work which does more credit to its printer than its compiler.

68. Milton. A composition, containing in the foreground a bust of Milton, copied from the above, and in the background pictures of Cowley and Denham, the three names being inscribed on a panel at foot; engraved by Anthony Cardon, from a drawing by Thomas Uwins, after the originals of Sir Peter Lely and R. White, and published 1st November, 1805, by John Sharpe.

69. An oval, 2.6 x 2.3; known to me only by a proof before letters. Though without the wreath, the continuation downwards of the folds of drapery depending from the shoulders to the point at which they connect themselves with each other, as noticed already, shews that this print has been copied from Simon's rather than from Richardson's portrait.

THE WHITE-RICHARDSON LIKENESS.

I have already stated the doubts, which nothing but proof of dates is likely to settle, whether Richardson or Simon copied from the other of them the wreath which forms a distinguishing feature of their respective prints. If Richardson was the copyist, and concealed the source from which he derived it, we have no reason to doubt the statement of Simon that his Mezzotint was from an original drawing of Robert White who was contemporary both with him and Milton. If Simon was the copyist, we have no artist's name to set up in opposition: and there is still room for the possibility of his having had grounds, unknown to us, for attributing it to White. Pending the solution of these doubts, I have assumed the truth of the former alternative, and given the name of White to the original drawing in the possession of Richardson in 1734; and consequently the joint names will properly belong to the class of portraits which were derived from Richardson's study of that drawing. It will be convenient to introduce them by an extract from his preface to his "Explanatory notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost," published in 1734. At p. ii he says:—"The print prefixed shews the face of him who wrote Paradise Lost, the face we chiefly desire to be acquainted with. 'Tis done from "a picture which I have reason to believe he sate for not long before his "death: I have therefore given a little more vigour to the print and but a

"little. The complexion must be imagined as of one who had been fair and fresh coloured. Toland says he was ruddy to the last. My picture and other information does not tell us that, but that he might have been so not long before. The colour of his eyes inclined to blue not deep; and though sightless they were as he says himself 'clear to outward view of blemish or of spot;' he was told so and 'tis certain the gutta serena which was his case does not appear to common eyes and at a little distance. But blindness even of that kind is visible in the colour, motion, and look of the eye which has the sad unhappiness of being extinguished by it. 'Tis wonderfully expressed in the picture from which this print was made as well as the sett of the mouth and the rest of the air. I have imitated it as well as I could in a way of working which I never practised but on a few plates and those in my youth, except an attempt on one or two near twenty years ago. The laurel is not in the picture. The two lines under it are my reason for putting it there—not what otherwise would be imagined: all the world has given it him long since."

70. Anon. Etching. J. R. sen. f. From an excelt. orig. (crayons) in his collection. Portrait with wreath as described above, the face being turned to the proper left, and, under it:—

"Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri

Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.—Milton's Mansus."

It is mentioned in Granger and Bromley; size of plate 6 x 4.

71. Anon. Etching, lettered as the preceding, and so closely resembling it as to be easily mistaken for it, but differing in size (being 6.1 x 3.5), in the drapery being continued a little lower down on the chest, and in the laurel branch on the right temple consisting of nine leaves instead of eleven.

72. Milton. G. Barron delt. et fecit. An etching, copied from Richardson's original, but reversed.

73. Anon. Engraving reduced from Richardson's etching, but reversed as in the last; size, exclusive of lettering (which is copied from Richardson's), 4.2 x 2.7.

74. Anon. J. Richardson f. An etching much improved by the omission of the wreath; at foot are the following verses, signed J. R. Jun.:—

"Authentic Homer Light's whole Fountain flows,
Immense! Feirce Dazling yet, & Torrent Glows:
His Temper'd Beam the Mantuan Bard reflects,
Shines Sweeter, & his Fairest Rays Selects:
Thine Milton Both, but not Both These Alone,
Thou, like Elysium, Kuow'st Another Sun."



Nº. 71.



N^o. 75

Size $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Warton's note (*p.* 531 *ed.* 1791) describes it as "another etching of Milton by Richardson the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger than fifty, accompanied with six bombast verses, 'Authentic Homer,' &c." I know not what authority there may be for attributing this etching to the Younger Richardson. In manner, it appears very like that of the father; and the lettering seems to attribute to the son nothing more than the authorship of the crazy verses.

75. Anon. An Etching in Richardson's manner, and so described by Granger; size 9.9×7.6 ; without lettering; very similar to the last, but on a larger scale, and with a somewhat different expression. Whether it is an etching by the elder Richardson is a question of some importance: for the drapery, differing from the preceding in being more full over the shoulders, and meeting at an acute angle over the chest, points it out as a connecting link with what I have called below the "Baker Drawing," to which the resemblance in this respect is striking; but I am unable to explain the precise connection between them.

*** Some other etchings by Richardson, which might perhaps have been placed here, will be found described among the engravings from Busts, Medallions &c.

76. Anon. Engraved by J. Roper. An oval, 2.6×2.1 ; forming a vignette in the engraved title to Parsons's edition of *Paradise Lost*, roy. 8vo, London, 1796.

THE WHITE-VERTUE LIKENESS, OR VERTUE (1725).

I have adopted the first of these titles to indicate what I believe to have been the origin of this portrait, which Granger estimates among the capital works of Vertue. No other person in his day was so well acquainted with the features of Milton, so largely employed in reproducing the known portraits of him, or more scrupulously faithful in doing so. When engaged on his series of Twelve Heads of the Poets, it may well be supposed to have been a reasonable ambition of Vertue to produce, from a careful comparison of the various authentic portraits, a print which, without being a servile copy of any of them, should embody his own ideal of the features of the Poet. The print about to be noticed appears to me to answer this description. The same drawing which served as an original to Simon and Richardson, or possibly Simon's mezzotint itself, (for Richardson's etching was not published till nine years afterwards,) seems to have been adopted as regards the attitude, and I think I can trace in the features a blending of the expression of that drawing with the milder aspect of the Faithorne portrait, as rendered in White's engraving of 1688 and Vertue's own 4to prints. The costume closely follows the same drawing, except as regards the arrangement of the drapery, the treatment of which is original, and will serve us, as the distinguishing marks of the Faithorne engraving have

done already, in detecting the origin of subsequent prints. Mr. Cunningham, in a note to his edition of Johnson's *Lives* (vol. I, p. 131), passes over Richardson's etching with slight notice as a "compound portrait," and observes that "posthumous additions of this kind are only impertinences at the best." I am not disposed in general to dissent from this proposition: but it seems hard that what is the daily practice of the sculptor—the production, from the best extant materials, of an ideal representation of the features of illustrious men of a past generation—should be a privilege wholly denied to the sister art; and a portrait so produced may surely claim our approval in proportion to the authenticity of the originals relied upon as authorities, and the conscientiousness and skill with which the available materials have been used. Such a claim for indulgence would be justly forfeited by any deception as to the original from which an engraving purports to have been taken: but in the present instance, though the size and pretension of the plate would have led us to expect a statement of the authority used, we find only the engraver's own name and the date of his work—a circumstance which tends to confirm this explanation of the origin of the portrait. The "ætat. 62, anno 1670," if my conjecture be correct, is to be regretted, as tending to the practice I have just been condemning, but I presume the artist only meant to indicate the age at which he conceived his portrait to represent the features of Milton, namely the date of the Faithorne engraving.

77. Ioannes Milton. Ætat. 62. A.D. 1670. Geo. Vertue sculp. 1725. In an oval composed of ornamental masonry; the age and date round the frame; the name on a block above; at foot of the oval, an escutcheon containing what is intended for Milton's arms, but the eagle is single headed as in another print of Vertue's; and beneath, on a panelled block, Dryden's lines; size of plate 14.4 × 9.4. Illustrissimo Dno. Dno. Algernon Comiti de Hertford Dno. Percy, &c., &c. Obsequentissimo D.D.D. G. Vertue. Mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

78. John Milton. Ætat. 62. Engraved by Owen from a drawing by Vertue, in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. Published by R. Wilks. Oval, 3.5 × 2.7; and beneath, name and age on a panel. The execution is far from doing justice to Vertue's likeness; but the mention of the authority as a *drawing* by Vertue is confirmatory of the suggestion made above as to the history of the preceding print.

79. John Milton. Ætat. 62. Vertue delint. W. N. Gardiner sculp. From the original drawing by Vertue, in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., at the Hyde, Essex. Oval, 6.2 × 5.9; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah

Boydell and George Nicol; forming one of the series of three portraits in Boydell's Milton, the other two being the Janssen and Ouslow portraits.

80. John Milton. Blood sc. Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809; size of engraving 4.1×2.8 .

81. Milton. Engraved by R. Cooper. From an original picture, for La Belle Assemblée; size 5.3×4.7 , exclusive of lettering; published July 1, 1810, by J. Bell.

82. John Milton, 1667 (facsimile of autograph). Published by William Pickering, 1826; appeared in his three volume edition of the Poetical Works, published in that year; size of engraving 5.5×3.7 . The facsimile autograph is copied from Milton's agreement with Samuel Symons, which bears date the 27th April, 1667; and the date attached to the signature in this print is only meant to indicate the period at which the facsimile represented the supposed handwriting of the poet. Whether the signature be really that of Milton is a question foreign to our purpose, and is under discussion among more competent authorities.

83. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). William Faithorne del. R. Hicks sculp. Published by Thomas Kelly, June 1, 1829. Size 3.1×2.4 , exclusive of autograph and lettering; a close copy of Vertue's 1725 engraving, though ignorantly attributed to Faithorne.

84. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). Vertue. W. C. Edwards. London, John Macrone, 1835; published in the six volume edition of the Poetical Works edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. The list of illustrations erroneously describes it as a "Portrait of Milton in his 62nd year, from Faithorne's original drawing."

85. John Milton. Rectangle, 1.5×1.2 , in a frame of outline scroll work; no name of engraver.

86. Jean Milton. Né à Londres en 1608 mort en 1674 âgé de 66 ans. E. G. Schmidt sculpsit. A Paris chez Odieuvre. Oval, 3.6×3 , in a plain frame; escutcheon with single headed eagle at foot; the whole on a pedestal inscribed as above.

87. Jean Milton, auteur du Poeme du Paradis perdu et de celui du Paradis retrouvé, né à Londres en 1608, mort en 1674. Suite de Desrochers. Se vend Paris chez Petit. Oval, 3.9×3.3 , formed of masonry; a scroll, at foot, inscribed as above; and below a tablet with six lines of verse, commencing—

"Par la sublimité de son double Poëme," &c.

88. J. Milton. Né à Londres le 9 xbre 1608. Mort a Brunhill [Bunhill-fields] le 15 nbre 1674. F. Bonneville del. Oval, 4×3.4 .

WHITE-VANDERGUCHT ENGRAVING.

The attitude of the engraving next to be described proclaims its origin in the same drawing as the original of the portraits last noticed, and is my justification for the title I have given it. Vandergucht has altered the

features so as to represent a much younger man than the Vertue engraving, and has clothed the figure in the slovenly undress in vogue among the artists of his day.

89. Giovanni Milton. Jno. Vander Gucht sculp. A large oval; and at foot an escutcheon with the single headed eagle, with helmet, crest, and lambrequin, and various ornaments, such as harps, wreaths &c.; size of plate 12×7.7 ; in the Italian translation of "Paradise Lost," by Paolo Rolli, folio, London, 1736; mentioned by Grainger.

90. Joannes Milton. N. Parr sculp. An oval, with somewhat similar ornaments; size of engraving 5.7×3.2 .

91. Giovanni Milton. Antonio Baratti scul. An oval, on a pedestal; size of plate 5.2×2.9 ; in the edition of Rolli's translation, published in 12mo, Paris, 1758.

THE BAKER DRAWING, &c.

In my introductory observations I quoted a passage from Todd's Life, confounding Faithorne's and Richardson's drawings and one which, after passing through the hands of the Tonsons to Mr. Baker, was engraved for Todd's work. In a note at p. 141 of his second edition (1809) Todd writes:—"In the year 1670 there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a "drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his History of Britain. * * "The print has been several times copied. By an ingenious young artist "a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (supposed to be the "best likeness extant of the poet, and for which he sat at the age of 62,) "by the kind permission of William Baker, Esq., in whose possession it "now is; from which an engraving was made for my first edition of "Milton's Poetical Works. From the same picture the neat engraving in "the present edition is also made. * * * The Richardsons, and next "the Tonsons, before Mr. Baker, had the admirable crayon drawing above "mentioned. * * * This head by Faithorne was etched by Richard- "son, the father, about 1734, with the addition of a laurel crown to help "the propriety of the motto." There is no question that the drawing copied by Cipriani, and which I am ready to admit to have been Faithorne's original drawing, was in the possession of the Tonsons, but I have pointed out that it has no connection with the drawing copied by Richardson; and a glance at the engravings in Todd's Milton will shew that it had no more connection with the original from which they were taken. The drawing copied by Richardson *may have* also passed to the Tonsons, as stated by



No. 92.



No. 94.

Newton, and after him by Warton and Todd. That belonging to Mr. Baker no doubt passed to him from the Tonsons. My conjecture is that from the drawing copied by Richardson, and which we have treated as an original by White, or still more probably from the anonymous etching (No. 75) which we have placed with those of Richardson, the Tonsons had a new drawing made, for the purpose of having it engraved for their Baskerville edition of "Paradise Lost," and that this is the drawing belonging to Mr. Baker, and again copied and engraved for each of the editions of Todd's Milton. I base this conjecture mainly on the fact that the drapery of the portraits in the Baskerville Milton and in Todd's editions shews an actual identity, though departing slightly from that of the White and White-Richardson portraits, except the large anonymous etching (No. 75) to which the resemblance in this respect is very close. The attitude also is identical; and the features do not differ more than may be accounted for to those who have gone thus far with me by the inevitable divergence of successive drawings, and from these again having been copied by different engravers—more especially when we bear in mind that the first of them was Miller, whose engraving, it is fair to suppose, bore about as much resemblance to the original from which he professed to copy as that already described (No. 58) did to the Faithorne portrait. These engravings, then, and some others which may possibly have been derived from them, are arranged as follows:—

92. Anon. J. Miller sc. Portrait in an irregular oval, enveloped in drapery, which partly conceals a panel or pedestal, on which is a vignette representing the expulsion; size 6.5×4.3 ; prefixed to the edition of "Paradise Lost" edited by Newton, printed by Baskerville, and published by J. & R. Tonson, 4to, Birmingham, 1759.

93. The same print, without engraver's name, and cut down to the size of 5.8×3.6 , to adapt it to an 8vo volume, was prefixed to Newton's "Paradise Lost," 8th edition, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1778.

94. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. T. Simpson del. J. Baker sculp. From the original drawing by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Size 4.7×3.7 ; prefixed to the first edition of Todd's Milton, 6 vols. 8vo, London, 1801. Simpson is the "ingenious young artist" referred to in Todd's note. The features have more of the expression of White's drawing than the subsequent engraving by Collyer.

95. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. From the original painting by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Drawn by T. Simpson.

Engraved by J. Collyer. Same size: published in 1809, in the second edition of Todd's Milton.

96. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. From the original painting by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Drawn by T. Simpson. Engraved by T. A. Dean. Size 4.9×3.9 ; published in the third edition of Todd's Milton, in 1826. It was also prefixed to the fourth edition in 1851, lettered "John Milton, Faithorne pinxit, Dean sculpt."

97. John Milton. Faithorne pinxt. Dean sculpt. Published by J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833; prefixed to an edition of "Paradise Lost" issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; size 3.6×3 exclusive of lettering; a neat copy of the preceding.

98. John Milton. Aetat. 62. Engraved by HOLL. Published Nov. 23rd, 1799, by T. Heptingstall. Oval, 4.4×3.4 . I class this and the copies from it, and several succeeding engravings, with the above, rather than multiply subdivisions; but there is a marked change of features, as well as costume, shewing that they are from a different drawing, as is evidenced, indeed, by the date, and I have some doubts whether even from the same original portrait. A further issue of this print is marked as "printed for Vernor & Hood and the other proprietors," and is prefixed to Bensley's edition of "Paradise Lost," 8vo, London, 1802.

99. John Milton. Engraved by J. Archer, for the select Portrait Gallery in the Guide to Knowledge. Rectangle, 4.6×3.8 exclusive of lettering; a close copy of the preceding.

100. Milton. W. French sc. John Tallis & Company, London and New York. A copy of the same print; in a tasteless border of irregular form, 6.2 in diameter, of curtains, leaves, &c., forming a plate to Wright's Universal Pronouncing Dictionary, royal 8vo, no date.

101. John Milton (with five lines of biographical notice engraved). London, William Darton, 1822. No. 33 in the first volume of his "Cabinet of Portraits;" a copy from the same, rather coarsely executed in the chalk manner of engraving; lyre and laurel wreath lightly sketched in behind the head; size of plate 4.9×3.1 .

102. Milton. In a suspended frame, with ornamented corners, on the bottom of which the name is inscribed; outside size 3.2×2.7 ; a copy of the same.

103. Giovanni Milton. Onorate l'altissimo Poeta. Engraved by Mariano Bovi; oval, 5.7×4.3 . The costume somewhat resembling some of the preceding, and the features more nearly approaching the White-Richardson type.

104. Giovanni Milton. Nato li 9 xbre 1608. Morto li 15 9bre 1674. B. Musitelli inc. Prefixed to Scolari's Saggio di Critica sul Paradiso Perduto, 4to, Venezia, 1818. A slight resemblance in costume is the only excuse I can allege for assigning the present place to this *φάλλον δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου*.



N.º. 3º.

VERTUE'S ENGRAVING (1750).

There are several other engravings bearing the name of Vertue, the history of which I am unable to explain. The principal one bears the above date; and the drapery is so nearly identical with that of the prints which I have classed together under the heading of the Baker drawing, and especially that by Miller in the Baskerville Milton, that I think it probable it may have had a connection, more or less remote, with the drawing in the possession of the Tonsons. In features it is wholly unlike any of the other portraits; and the form of the collar in all the prints I have here classed together differs from any of those we have been examining. The others are quite unworthy of Vertue's reputation; but some allowance must be made for an engraver pursuing his art at the age of 72.

105. Milton. G. Vertue. 1750. Portrait in a plain oval frame, resting on a pedestal, on the top of which are the engraver's name and date; at the top of the frame is a long narrow oval, surrounded with scroll and fillet, and inscribed with the name of Milton; published in Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost," 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1750, and again in 1778, and probably other editions. This may be the print referred to by Granger under the description of "Milton—oval—his name is "in capitals at the top—Vertue sc. 8vo." Bromley has copied Granger's description.

106 John Milton. G. Vertue sc. (the G and V blended in a manner not unusual in Vertue's prints). The lower part of the portrait shews a portion of an oval frame; the name on a panel beneath; appears in Tonson's edition of "Paradise Lost," 12mo, London, 1751.

107. John Milton. G. V. sc., 1756. The size and arrangements exactly like the preceding, but the features still more unsatisfactory. The monogram which I have transcribed as G. V. scarcely admits of description without a facsimile. The print appeared in one of the 12mo editions of "Paradise Lost," published with Fenton's Life.

108. John Milton. Ornamented and engraved by J. Chapman, 1804. Published by James Cundee. Prefixed to Evans's edition of "Paradise Lost," in two volumes small 8vo; an octagon, 2.4×1.9, surmounted by a dove, and with serpent, cross and other ornaments at foot; the portrait evidently copied from the preceding.

109. Milton. Engraved by Chapman. An oval, 1.7×1.3, forming a vignette to the engraved title to a small edition of the Poetical Works, published by Suttaby, in 1805, and furnishing a more pleasing version of the same portrait.

PORTRAITS DERIVED FROM BUSTS, MEDALLIONS, SEALS &c.

It is one of the disadvantages incident to the practice of the sculptor's art, that his services are frequently called into requisition for the purpose of conferring posthumous honor on those whose features can only be recalled by a comparison of extant portraits: and the result is that in portrait sculpture we look not so much for a literal rendering of the features of the original, as for a work of art, in which those features are impressed with the artist's idea of what is characteristic of the man. Whether any bust of Milton, from which the engravings now to be noticed have been taken, were from the life, is at least doubtful; but the considerations I have touched upon would render it unfair to class them on that account among pseudo-portraits.

HOLLIS'S BUST.

In Hollis's Memoirs (p. 513) it is stated that "Mr. Hollis, in a paper dated July 30, 1757, says, 'For an original model in clay of the head of Milton £9 12s., which I intended to have purchased myself had it not been knocked down to Mr. Reynolds by a mistake of Mr. Ford the auctioneer. Note, about two years before Mr. Vertue died he told me that he had been possessed of this head many years, and that he believed it was done by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, the same who made the bust in marble of Sir Christopher Wren which is in the Bodleian Library. My own opinion is that it was modelled by Abraham Simon, and that afterwards a seal was engraved after it in profile by his brother Thomas Simon, a proof impression of which is now in the hands of Mr. Yeo, engraver, in Covent Garden.'" A few lines further on it is stated that "the bust probably was executed soon after Milton had written his *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*," and that "Mr. Reynolds obligingly parted with this bust to Mr. Hollis for twelve guineas." I infer from this that Mr. Hollis's own memorandum referred to the price at which the bust was sold to Reynolds. Warton states (p. 531 ed. 1791) that "Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue" The inference from Hollis's memorandum, written in the year after Vertue's death, is that the latter had been the possessor before the sale at which it was knocked down to Reynolds. From this bust there have been various engravings:—

110. Milton. J. Richardson delin. G. Vertue sculpsit. A bust on a pedestal, decorated with serpent and apple, and the poet's name inscribed on the plinth.

The bust stands in a round-headed niche; and the entire plate measures 12×7.2 ; it appeared in the edition of Milton's Prose Works, 2 vols. folio, London, 1738; mentioned by Granger.

111. Milton. J. Richardson delin. G. Vertue sculpsit. The same plate, cut down a little above the spring of the circular head of the niche above mentioned, so as to reduce the size to 10×7.2 , to adapt it to Baron's edition of the Prose Works, in 2 vols. 4to, London, 1753.

112. Milton. E. Verhelst fec. Mannheim. A small bust, unlike Milton in features, but indicating in costume and ornaments that it is intended for a copy of the preceding.

113. John Milton, drawn and etched MDCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, from a bust in plaister, modelled from the life, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.SS. An oval encircled with palm, uniform with the other Hollis portraits; and beneath, the sonnet to Cyriac Skinner:—

“Cyriac this three years day,” &c.

It is mentioned by Grainger.

114. John Milton. Engraved by H. Meyer, from a drawing by Mr. Cipriani, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Disney, published April 16, 1810, by T. Cadell and W. Davies. A representation of the same bust in profile; but whether from a drawing by Cipriani, as stated, or only founded on that made for the print last described, I am not aware.

115. Milton. *Litterary Magazine*. A representation of the same bust, probably copied from Vertue's print; size, exclusive of lettering, 3.5×2.8 .

116. John Milton. *Literary Magazine*. The same altered, and the title of the periodical corrected as above.

RICHARDSON'S ETCHINGS.

117. ΜΙΛΤΩ (inscribed on the pedestal of a bust). J. Richardson f; and beneath, the lines:—

“Forsitan & nostros ducat de Marmore Vultus,
Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri
Fronde Comas, at ego Secura Pace quiescam. Milton in Mausoleo.”

Size of plate 9.2×5.8 . This is an etching mentioned in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*. At p. 514, the author—after introducing the subject of the *Poems and Essays of Samuel Say*, 4to, London, 1745—writes:—“Let us not forget for what purpose we brought this gentleman upon the carpet. It is for the sake of a print of a bust of Milton, prefixed to his second essay, which, if our judgment were asked, we should call a good one: the execution is by Mr. Richardson, Sen.: it is from Mr. Hollis' model in clay, ornamented by Richardson, and is one of his sets of prints of Milton.” Warton notices Mr. Hollis's bust, and says that “Richardson etched it for the *Poems and Critical Essays of S. Say*, 1751, 4to,” but adds, “I believe this is the same etching that I have mentioned above to have been made by old Richardson, 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1751, for Say's

"Essays: old Richardson was not living in 1754." (*Warton's Milton*, p. 531, ed. 1791.) It must be admitted that the resemblance between the etching of 1734 (No. 70) and that under discussion is so close in feature, attitude and costume, and even in the addition of the wreath, that the latter print would be more correctly described as a study of Richardson from his "excellent original in crayons," adapted to the form of a bust, than as a copy from Hollis's model in clay; but it is impossible that Warton could have compared the two etchings, or had more than the vaguest recollection of one while describing the other, when he expressed his belief that the two plates were identical. His argument, moreover, rests on an error in dates. Say's *Poems and Essays* were published, not in 1754, as thrice stated by Warton in the course of four lines, but in 1745, on the 6th of April in which year the preface is dated, while Richardson survived to the 28th of May following. The publication of Say's *Poems and Essays* was posthumous, the author having died in 1743; and a postscript acknowledges that "the subscribers "are obliged to Mr. Richardson for the fine head of Milton, prefixed to the Essay "on the Numbers of *Paradise Lost*, who lent the plate etched by himself, to be "used on this occasion." Granger's account of the print is that it "was done from "a bust which belonged to the painter that etched the print; the bust is said to "have been done from a mould taken from his face, and is indeed very like him." He adds in a note, that "the prints of Milton by Richardson are not common."

118. Milton (inscribed on the pedestal of a bust). Clark sc. A small vignette, enclosed in an abundance of foliated ornament; and probably a bad copy of the preceding.

119. MINTO. J. Richardson, 1738. A profile etching; in an oval 3.9×3.5 ; bearing no resemblance to any other portrait of Milton already noticed, but a considerable resemblance to Richardson's profile etching of Pope. Richardson's tendency to reproduce in portraiture the features of other portraits from his own hand is very remarkable; and, but for the close resemblance which his etching of 1734 bears to the features in Simon's mezzotint, would be sufficient to destroy all confidence in the former even as an ideal portrait. I have placed this print in its present order from its apparent resemblance to a drawing from a medallion: but I am not aware of any from which it can have been taken. It is mentioned by Granger and Brounley. The original drawing is probably one described by Malone, (*Prior's Life of Malone*, p. 397, 399,) as being in profile, and marked "13th "February 1737 R." This and another of Milton, "4th December 1734 R.," and six other drawings by Richardson, were bought at the sale of his drawings in 1716-7 by his son, at whose sale in 1772 they were bought by Mr. Parsons, a picture cleaner, who sold them to Malone. The literary connection between Malone and the younger James Boswell renders it probable that these were the "two beautiful "pencil drawings of vellum, by the elder Richardson, portraits of Milton," which formed lot 3206 at the sale of Boswell's library in 1825, and sold for nineteen shillings.

120. Anon. A profile in oval; strongly resembling the preceding, but clothed and with collar in the style of the White-Richardson drawing.

121. Milton. F. P. The initials, as we are informed by Granger, are those of Francis Perry. He was a pupil of Richardson. The etching, which is in profile, is a copy of the last but one, but reversed.

MILTON VICTORIOUS OVER SALMASIUS.

122. Anon. I. B. C. I. F. MDCCLXVII. Life of M. by I. T., ed. II, p. lxxx. A quarto plate, representing a terminal bust of Milton, copied from Hollis's bust above described; on the face of the term is a volume lettered "Def. pro pop. Anglic."; and beneath, a palm branch, from which is suspended a medallion representing, as we are informed below, Salmasius; mentioned by Granger and Bromley. The history of the print is given in the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis. At p. 371, after mentioning a projected edition of Milton's Prose Works, which became abortive in consequence of a misunderstanding between Mr. Hollis and Miller, the publisher, it is stated that "some time before this transaction Mr. Hollis had settled with Mr. Cipriani, much as he said to his satisfaction, the sketch of a print representing Milton victorious over Salmasius, which he undoubtedly intended for a frontispiece to the projected edition of the Prose Works just mentioned. He did not, however, countermand this print upon his disappointment, observing that it might serve for some future edition of those works." In a subsequent passage (p. 383) the author proceeds to say:—"We have mentioned above that Mr. Hollis had, in concert with Cipriani, settled the sketch of an emblematical print representing Milton's victory over Salmasius. On the 13th of January [1768] Mr. Cipriani brought him a finished drawing from that sketch, for which Mr. Hollis paid him five guineas, and presented him with two more on account of the masterly execution of it. It was agreed between them at the same time that Cipriani should make an etching from that drawing, which was done, and a proof brought to Mr. Hollis by Cipriani March 5, for which the artist had, as the price of his ingenuity, twenty guineas, and five more as a present."

123. ALON. I. B. C. I. F. MDCCLXVII. J. Hopwood s. A reduced copy of the preceding; 4.4 × 3.2; the volume and palm branch being superseded by a fillet, inscribed with the words "Defensio secunda," from which the portrait of Salmasius is suspended; prefixed to the third volume of the works of Archdeacon Wrangham, 8vo, London, 1816.

124. John Milton. The same plate, altered by the erasure of the fillet and portrait from the face of the term, and the substitution of the Poet's name; and beneath, in odd conjunction, the words "Do fermented liquors contribute to intellectual excellence?"

RYSBRACK'S MONUMENT.

125. Milton. H. Gravelot delin. Nathl. Parr sculp. The name inscribed on the pedestal of a bust, the history of which is given on a panel below, namely:—

" In the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and thirty seven
 " This Bust of the Author of *Paradise Lost* was placed here by William Benson
 " Esquire one of y^e two Auditors of the Impress to His Majesty King George the
 " Second formerly Surveyor General of the Works to His Majesty King George the
 " First. Rysbrack was the Statuary who cut it." This is the marble bust in
 Westminster Abbey. It is stated in Hollis's Memoirs to be after his plaister bust
 and the Faithorne drawing in the possession of the Tonsons, but chiefly the latter.
 The print is a folio 12 × 7.5.

126. The monument of the celebrated John Milton as it now stands in Westminster Abbey. Drawn by Hamilton. Engraved by Thornton. A reduced copy of the preceding in 8vo.

127. Johannes Miltonus. M. Rysbrachius marm. sc. pro Gul. Benson, arm. G. Vanderghucht 1741, 4to. The above description is extracted from Granger. The print is mentioned also by Bromley, but I have not happened to meet with it.

MISCELLANEOUS BUSTS.

128. Milton. Engraved by W. Ridley, from a drawing taken from a bust in the possession of the proprietor; printed for C. Cooke, 1800; in Cooke's edition of *Select Poets*. I know nothing of the bust from which this purports to be taken.

129. Anon. A miniature bust, somewhat resembling the preceding.

130. Milton. Richd. Smirke delt. Abr. Rainbach sculpt. Published by Johnson & Co, 1810, as a frontispiece to Cowper's *Milton*. A terminal bust, differing from all the other likenesses; standing on a circular pedestal, against which is reared a medallion of Cowper.

MEDALLIONS.

131. Johannes Miltonus. J. Hulett del. et sculpt. A 4to plate in Peck's *Milton*, representing the obverse and reverse of a medal; obverse, Iohannes Miltonus. Tanner f. Reverse, E. Marmore in Ecclesia Sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium erectore Gulielmo Benson arm. Anno salutis humanæ MDCCXXXVII. Rysbrachius sculpsit; beneath, the quotation from the *Odyssey*:—"Τὸν περὶ Μουσῷ ἐφίλησε," &c., and the dedication "Viro ornatissimo Gulielmo Benson arm. 'Miltoni sui Tabulam hanc merito votivam D.D.D. Francus Peck, A.M.'" This medal was struck at the expense of Mr. Benson, and given, as stated by Dr. Joseph Warton in a note to his brother's edition of the *minor poems* (p. 362, ed. 1791), as prizes for the best verses that were produced on Milton at all our great schools.

132. Ioannes Miltonus. Guls. Green, Jun., delin. J. Wood sculpt. A profile forming a medallion vignette, 2.1 in diameter in the title page of Dobson's *Latin Translation of the Paradise Lost*, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1753; stated by Granger to have been engraved from a medallion which was done after the head on his monument by Rysbrack, and resembling that of Hollis's bust.

133. Ioannes Milton. Engraved in outline from a medal; obverse, the head, apparently designed chiefly after the type of the White portrait; reverse, the Temptation, partly surrounded with fillet inscribed "*Dira dulce canit alter Homerus*;" in the exergue the initials J. D.

134. Anon. A. Smith, A.R.A. sc. A medallion in profile, forming a vignette in title page to an edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 12mo by Sharp, 1809.

135. John Milton. Chas. Heath sculp. Published by J. Mawman, &c., 1817; a medallion in profile.

136. English Poets. Ten medallion heads ranged on the side of a representation of Mount Parnassus. R. Smirke del. J. Newton & J. Landseer fecit. Medallions per J. Newton. Folio: the head of Milton, though in the form and style of a medallion, is copied from the Faithorne portrait.

SEALS.

137. Milton. W. W. Rylands sc. From a drawing of Mr. Deacon, taken from an impression of a seal of T. Simon * in the possession of Mr. Yeo. This seal is referred to in Hollis's *Memoirs*, in a passage already quoted in relation to Hollis's bust, with which it is stated this agrees; but I confess I can see no resemblance. The print is mentioned by Bromley, and with approbation by Granger.

138. Milton. From an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of Mr. Yeo. In the only copy I have happened to meet with, a worn plate appearing in an edition of the Poet's works published by J. Smith, High Holborn, 1830, a close inspection detects traces of the words "engraved by" beneath the oval to the left, and a name to the right which I am unable to decipher. Granger mentions a print which he describes as "Milton: from a drawing of Mr. Deacon taken from "an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of Mr. Yeo." Query whether this description is intended for the present print, or for either of those next to be described.

139. Milton. T. Holloway, sculpsit. From an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of the late Mr. Yeo; published August 15, 1801, by J. Mawman, &c.

140. Milton. R. R. Ronnery sculp. A close and well executed copy of the preceding. I am told it is a rare, if not an unpublished print.

PRETENDED PORTRAITS.

THE COOPER MINIATURE.

In proceeding to treat of those engraved heads, published with the name of Milton, the history of which I do not consider satisfactorily authenti-

* Mr. Hollis is stated to have had a small steel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a seal or ring, by the same T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the same way. I have been favored by Albert Way, Esq., with an impression in wax from a steel puncheon answering this description and admirably executed.

cated, the first rank is fitly occupied by one which, if the test I had adopted had been public acceptance, I must have placed among the authentic portraits: for none of those which will remain to be described have been so often or so well engraved as that which goes by the name of the Cooper miniature. It was bought for one hundred guineas, in 1784, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from a picture dealer named Hunt, who "had obtained it from a common furniture broker, who could not remember the time nor manner in which he came by it." (*Northcote's Life of Reynolds*, 4to ed., p. 319.) It was marked "S.C. 1653"; and on the back was written, "This picture belong'd to Deborah Milton who was her Father's Ammannensis at her death was sold to S^r Will^m Davenants Family.* It was painted by Mr. Sam Cooper who was painter to Oliver Cromwell at at y^e time Milton was Latin Secratary to y^e Protector. The Painter & Poet were near of the same age. Milton was born in 1608 & died in 1674. Cooper was born in 1609 & died in 1672 & were Companions & friends till Death parted Them. Several encouragers and Lovers of y^e fine Arts at that time wanted this picture, particularly Lord Dorset† John Somers Esq.‡ S^r Rob^t Howard Dryden Atterbury Dr. Aldrich & S^r John Denham." It was mentioned in the first edition of Warton's *Milton* in the following year (p. 546); and the publication of the second edition of that work in 1791, with some additional remarks (p. 532) suggesting the resemblance of the likeness to a portrait of Selden in the Bodleian, gave rise to a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 20th May, 1791 (vol. li, p. 399), impugning the authenticity of the portrait, and written, as Todd informs us (and see also *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* IX, 67), by Lord Hailes. The letter was answered on the 15th of June (p. 603) under the signature of "R. J.," which indicated no less a personage than Sir Joshua himself: and indeed the answer is avowed by his biographer Northcote, and printed by him in extenso (p. 320). A reply appeared in

* Sir William Davenant's name had, shortly before Sir Joshua Reynolds' purchase, been before the public in connection with the history of the Chandos Shakespeare, of which a copy had been made by Sir Joshua himself. (See *Boaden on Shakespeare portraits*, p. 40.)

+ See note on Vertue's letter to Christian, *ante*. Warton notices that this may have been the picture to which Prior's recollection was to be called, as having been in Lord Dorset's collection.

‡ Mr. Keightley (p. 133) prints "Lord Somers, Esquire," with "(sic)" to indicate that there is no typographical mistake; but he does not mention that he has examined the original miniature; and Miss Watson's engraving has the inscription as quoted in the text.

the Gentleman's Magazine for October (vol. lxi, p. 885); and in the following month Sir Joshua made his will, leaving "the miniature of Milton by "Cooper" to the Rev. Wm. Mason, who in a letter printed in Sir James Prior's recently published *Life of Malone* (p. 193) stoutly maintained the genuineness of his acquisition, gutta serena and all. By his will in 1797, after providing for the editing of his works by Willm. Burgh, Esq., LL.D., of York, he desired him for such friendly trouble to accept the fine miniature picture of Milton, painted by Cooper, which was bequeathed to the testator by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (See *Hunter's South Yorkshire*, II, 169, quoted in *Gent. Mag. for July*, 1831.) The controversy is too lengthy for our purpose; but the arguments may be shortly condensed. Lord Hailes shews the impossibility of reconciling the facts stated in the memorandum with the known date of Deborah Milton's death; and points out how irreconcilable any date is with the list of names given, and which he asserts to have been set down at random. It may be sufficient to mention that Sir John Denham died several years before Milton. Sir Joshua considered that the memorandum had been written before 1693, when Mr. Somers was knighted, and it had been admitted in an inscription on an engraving which will presently be described, that the writer of the memorandum had been mistaken in supposing Deborah Milton to be then dead. He quotes the authority of Mr. Tyrwhitt, to whom the miniature had been shewn at the Archbishop of York's table, for stating that "the orthography as well as the colour of the "ink shewed the memorandum to have been written about a hundred "years since;" and restates the case for the authenticity of the picture, by saying its "progress seems to be this:—Milton dying insolvent, and "Deborah Milton of course in great indigence, it is very improbable that "she would keep to herself a picture of such value; it was therefore sold, "as we suppose, to the author of the memorandum; and the account there "given is probably such as he received from the seller of the picture, who, "in order to raise its value, boasts how many great men had desired to "have it." Lord Hailes replies to the argument as to the *orthography*, by which he assumes the writer to mean *false spelling*, that the only words misspelt are "amannuensis" and "secratary"; and challenges Mr. Tyrwhitt to say whether such spelling was in use a hundred years ago, or whether a son of Sir William Davenant would so have written them; and suggests the question whether the phrase "fine arts" was used in English so early

as 1693. He denies, on the authority of the testamentary papers which had just been brought to light, that Milton died insolvent, and argues that before we can suppose Deborah to have sold the picture, we must suppose her to have been possessed of it, whereas she was living apart from her father for several years before his death; and even if she had been possessed of it, and left in extreme indigence, she would not have been likely to retain it from 1674 to 1693 and then part with it. We may fairly sum up this portion of the argument by observing that while on the one hand the most perfect consistency in the facts stated in an unauthenticated memorandum, on a picture passing under such suspicious circumstances through the hands of a broker, would only prove the possibility and not the truth of the statement, a mistake in important facts is fatal to its authority, and justifies us in treating it as a fabrication. It may be added that Deborah Clarke expressly told Vertue that she knew of no other picture of her father than the two in the possession of his widow, having been several years in Ireland, both before and after his death. But abandoning the evidence of the memorandum, there remains the internal evidence of the picture itself. On this subject Sir Joshua Reynolds is entitled to be heard with respect, though with large allowance for his evident disinclination to believe he had been duped, and his eagerness to maintain a foregone conclusion arrived at on insufficient external evidence. He had told Warton that "the picture was admirably painted, and with such a character of nature that he was perfectly sure it was a striking likeness—he had now a distinct idea of the countenance of Milton which could not be got from any of the other pictures which he had seen." Under his assumed initials of "R. J." he says:—"The opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds in matters relating to his own profession certainly ought to have some weight. He is not likely to be wanting in that skill to which every other artist pretends, namely, to form some judgment of the likeness of a picture without knowing the original. * * * Without being an artist it is easily perceived that the picture of Faithorne does not possess that individuality of countenance which is in the miniature. * * * There is no doubt but that Milton sat to Faithorne for that crayon picture: the distinguishing features are the same as in the miniature—the same large eyelid—the same shaped nose and mouth—and the same long line, which reaches from the nostril to below the corners of the mouth—and the same head of hair: but if the effect and expression of

“the whole together should be, as in fact it is, different in the two pictures, “it cannot, I should think, be difficult for us to determine on which side “our faith ought to incline, even though neither possessed any strong “marks of identity.” The engravers have furnished ample opportunities for examining the lineaments of this much contested portrait.

141. Anon. Oval, 2.5 × 1.9 within the frame, in front of a curtain and pyramid; on the two exposed sides of the base are bas-reliefs representing the Expulsion and the Temptation; reared against the front an oval representing the back of the miniature, with the memorandum above quoted; and, below, the following inscription:—“The above is a fac-simile of the manuscript on the back of “the picture which appears to have been written some time before the year 1693 “when Mr. Somers was knighted, and afterwards created Baron Evesham which “brings it within nineteen years after Milton’s death. The writer was mistaken “in supposing Deborah Milton to be dead at that time: she lived till 1727, but in “indigence and obscurity married to a weaver in Spitalfields. I have only to add “that Cooper appears to have exerted his utmost abilities on his friend’s picture, “and that Miss Watson has shewn equal excellence in this specimen of her art. “The likeness to the original picture which is in my possession is preserved with “the utmost exactness. J. Reynolds.” Published January 4, 1786, by Caroline Watson: mentioned by Bromley.

142. Milton. Engraved by Caroline Watson, 1808, from a miniature by Cooper. Oval; same size as above; published January 20, 1808, by Richard Philips.

143. J. Milton. Né en 1608, Mort en 1674. Reynolds pinx. Boutrois sc. 3.9 × 3.1. Sir Joshua Reynolds’s connection with the picture suggests the origin of the mistake as to the painter.

144. John Milton. Angsburg, by John Elias Haid; mezzotint; oval, 6 × 4.6 within the frame.

145. John Milton. Cooper del. Cochran sc., published in Bohn’s edition of Milton’s Prose Works, vol. I.

146. Vignette to the edition of *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, illustrated by Birkett Foster. The description states broadly that “this portrait was formerly in the “possession of Milton’s daughter Deborah: it then passed into the hands of Sir “William Davenant, and subsequently into those of Sir Joshua Reynolds.”

DU ROVERAY’S PRINT.

147. Milton. Engraved by William Sharp, after an original miniature by Samuel Cooper: the ornaments by G. B. Cipriani and E. F. Burney. Oval, 3 × 2.4, surrounded with wreaths, &c., in front of a truncated column, against the base of which is an oval vignette representing the Temptation. Published in Du Roveray’s edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1802.

If nothing can be found in common between this and Miss Watson's engraving, I presume the explanation must be that the name of Cooper, having been once brought into connection with Milton portraits, has been treated in the same manner as that of Faithorne, and is intended to assist the portly gentleman, whose features are here represented, in personating Milton.

CRAIG'S DRAWING.

118. John Milton. Drawn by W. M. Craig, Esq., from a miniature by Cooper. R. Hicks sculp. Oval, 3.2 × 2.6, with serpent and apple and other ornaments. Published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool, March 30, 1812. The same observations apply to this as to the preceding.

PECK'S MEZZOTINT.

This impudent attempt to foist upon the public a pretended portrait of Milton appeared in Peck's *Memoirs* in 1740. He describes it at p. 103 as "a picture, an half length, drawn when he was about five and twenty." "The original" he says "was once the property of Sir John Meres, of Kirby Belers, in com. Leic., kt, but is now mine and you have a good print of the head prefixed to this work. However as the plate exhibits the head only, and as no engraving can express the colouring of the complexion and drapery, and perhaps something of the features, I shall here add a short description of the whole. Milton is here drawn sitting in a red velvet chair in a russet coloured nightgown lined with blue." He then proceeds with a minute description of the dress, and concludes by saying:—"His left hand lying over an open book on a table covered with a loose red velvet table cloth: the open dexter leaf of the book numbered p. 30. and on the edge of the book a label inscribed *Paradice Lost*, with a *c* not an *s*—as he often wrote it." Will it be believed that this book is the sole pretext for attributing the portrait to Milton? Some one has observed that on similar grounds, if the volume had been the Book of Genesis, Mr. Peck would have supposed the portrait to be that of Moses. But he did not err from ignorance: for having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and being peremptorily answered in the negative, Peck replied "I'll have a scraping from it however and let posterity settle the difference." (*See Warton* p. 545, *Ed.* 1785) Vertue himself told the story to Hollis in 1755. (*See Hollis's Memoirs* 513, 529.) Posterity has long since "settled the difference" not much to Mr. Peck's credit.

149. Iohannes Miltonus; circa annum ætatis xxvth J. Faber fecit. Cedit Romani Scriptores, cedit Graii, (Propert.) Viro ornatissimo Cuthberto Constable de Burton Constable in com. Ebor. Tabulam hanc merito votivam D.D.D. Francus Peck A M. An oval representing a young man of about the age stated, with flowing bushy hair and moustache, dressed in a gown and short shirt collar open at the throat; size, exclusive of lettering, 6.8 × 5.8; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

THE ELDERTON MINIATURE.

In January, 1791, the Rev. J. Elderton, of Bath, announced to the world in the columns of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the existence of a miniature picture of Milton in his possession. He states that "it belonged to his child's great ancestor Sir Edward Seymour, who was speaker of the House of Commons, and grandfather of the Duke of Somerset: it has been seen by connoisseurs, who always agreed it was an original: the hair is of a dark chesnut colour, flowing down to the shoulders." (*Gent. Mag. v. lxi, p. 39.*) Perverse individuals having ventured to hint a doubt of its genuineness, though vouched by so aristocratic a pedigree, Mr. Elderton settled the question by forwarding the outlines of the miniature for the purpose of the engraver: and this curious addition to the engraved portraits of Milton accordingly appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1792:—

150. Picture supposed to be Milton. Oval, 4.3 × 1.8, forming one of a page of illustrations to the *Gentleman's Magazine*; B[asire] sc.

VERTUE'S RICHARDSON PORTRAIT.

151. Ioannes Milton, ætat. 42. Ex musæo J. Richardson. G. Vertue, Sculpsit, 1751. An oval, the frame of which terminates at the base in a foliated scroll, in which is inserted a panel, with name and age as above, and at the top lightning, serpent and apple, &c.; size of plate 8.6 × 6.

This plate, which appeared in Newton's edition of *Paradise Regained*, 4to, London, 1752, and is mentioned in Granger and Bromley, and in the memoirs of Thomas Hollis, (p. 117), represents a person about the age stated, dressed in gown and falling or Genevan band, with flowing hair and slight moustache. There can be no hesitation in classing it among the pseudo-portraits, though I regret so to treat an engraving inscribed with the name of the conscientious Vertue. I know nothing of its history beyond what I have stated. Richardson died six years before the date of the print, as I have mentioned in speaking of the etching published in Say's *Poems and Essays*, (No. 117.)

THE CHESTERFIELD PORTRAIT.

152. John Milton. From an original in Lord Chesterfield's collection. Cook sculpt. Printed for John Bell, Nov. 12, 1777. Oval; portrait of a young man of from 29 to 30, with moustache, &c., his head leaning on his hand in an attitude of thought; name on a panel below.

153. John Milton. From an original in Lord Chesterfield's collection. Cook sculpt. Slightly differing from the preceding and distinguishable by the panel having square instead of rounded ends.

154. John Milton. In an edition of *Paradise Lost*, published by Law, Millar and Co., London, 1792; a copy of the preceding, but with broader and coarser features.

THE STRAWBERRY HILL PORTRAIT.

155. John Milton. S. Harding del. F. Harding, Jun., sculpt. From an original picture in the collection of Lord Orford, at Strawberry Hill. Published Dec. 1, 1796, by E. & S. Harding, Pall Mall; 4to.

The print is a half length portrait of a gentlemen of from 30 to 40 years of age and light complexion; in cavalier costume, apparently of black velvet; with pointed beard and moustache. The same plate, published without date by Evans of Great Queen Street, figured as a portrait of Sir William Killigrew, "Vandyke pinx." being substituted for "S. Harding del." If the latter account of the picture have any better evidence in its favor than the former I have no objections to offer, unless it represent a man older than 36, which was the age of Killigrew at the date of Vandyck's death in 1641. The sale catalogue of the Strawberry Hill collection has no mention of any portrait of Killigrew; but lot 7 in the 21st day's sale is described as "a portrait of Milton," without a word to identify or trace the history of the picture. In the catalogue of Portraits in the Manchester Art Treasures' Exhibition is one, numbered 105, (lent by the Duke of Newcastle) of "Sir William Killigrew; half length, in 'black; signed 'A Van Dyck pinxit 1638.'" I had not then any reason for taking especial notice of the picture; but I am told it corresponded with the print.

THE CAPEL LOFFT PORTRAIT.

This is a folio engraving from a picture in the possession of Capel Lofft, who in the preface to his edition of the *Paradise Lost*, published at Bury St. Edmunds in 1792, in describing the edition of 1674, with the portrait by W. Dolle, says:—"Whatever harshness there may be in the style of

“the engraving, even to a degree of rudeness, there appear strokes of
 “a characteristic resemblance. It seems to me to be from an original
 “which was bequeathed to my father by Col. Holland, on which lines
 “of Latin verses were inscribed beneath the scroll; *Inclutus et Felix*
 “*Patriam* can be pretty plainly traced: the rest is lost, and I fear irre-
 “coverably. Mr. Stevenson of Norwich had this picture to copy, as he is
 “always warm in the interests of genius and humanity.” I cannot
 imagine what possible relationship Mr. Lofft could trace between this
 portrait and Dolle’s, which is a copy, and not a very unfaithful one of
 Faithorne’s Engraving. With the latter however Lofft appears from other
 passages in his preface to have been unacquainted. To those who can
 believe that the portrait now under discussion represents Milton at all,
 the fact that Peter Vander Plas, to whom it is attributed, died in 1626,
 when Milton was 18 years of age, will probably present a minor difficulty.
 The figure appearing in a beam of light entering at the upper right hand
 corner of the engraving, and probably representing the Risen Saviour, may
 have suggested the idea of the portrait being that of the author of *Paradise*
Regained. This emblem and the Pilgrim’s staff and bottle, which form so
 prominent an object in the print, would be equally appropriate to Bunyan,
 to whom the features bear, at least, as much resemblance as they do to
 Milton; but if Vander Plas was the painter, this suggestion is as impossible
 as the other; and for our purpose the question of who the original was is
 of little importance if he was not Milton. The engraving may be described
 as:—

156. Milton. P. V. Plas fecit. Drawn and engraved by G. Quinton, from an
 original picture in the possession of Capel Lofft, Esq. Published August 1st, 1797,
 by W. Stevenson, Norwich, for G. Quinton, engraver, and sold by Messrs. Boydell.
 A rectangle $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches. Below the figure is a scroll, showing in a legible state
 part of the Latin words quoted by Mr. Lofft; and below, in rude Roman letters,
 P.V. PLAS Fec.

157. Milton (from a picture by Plas.) Drawn on stone by M. Ganci, Esq.
 Printed by F. Moser. An enlarged copy in folio of the head from the preceding
 print.

PORTRAIT IN DR. WILLIAMS’S LIBRARY.

158. John Milton. Drawn by J. Thurston. Engraved by J. T. Wedgwood,
 from a picture by Dobson in Dr. Williams’s Library. London, March 1, 1820,
 published by W. Walker. A coarse featured, heavy looking man, of middle age,
 with flowing hair and broad Genevan band, but no trace of Milton’s features. The

original picture, of the history of which nothing is known at the library, is not quite so repulsive as the engraving.* Todd mentions the name of Dobson in connection with another portrait which has also been attributed to Riley.

PYE'S PRINT.

159. John Milton. Painted by C. Janssen! Engraved by Charles Pye. London, published for the proprietor, March 1823. The print represents a young man, of upwards of 20, in a lace cravat of the time of Queen Anne. I am not aware in what publication the engraving appeared—probably some general biographical work: for I have met with uniform portraits of Locke, Louis xvi, Pitt, Sydney, Thurlow, Washington &c.

PAGE'S PRINT.

160. Milton. Engraved by R. Page from an original painting. In a suspended frame with ornamental corners. I know nothing of its history; and its importance is not such as to challenge much enquiry.

THE FALCONER MINIATURE.

The history of this portrait is contained in the pages of Notes and Queries. In vol. II, 2nd series, p. 231, Mr. Jones, of Nantwich, had mentioned a tradition that one of the two pictures enumerated in the testamentary inventory of the effects of Milton's widow had passed on her decease to a young Oxonian student named Wilbraham, of Townsend, in Nantwich. The evidence already given identifies Mrs. Milton's pictures with the Janssen and Onslow portraits too clearly to leave room for belief in the tradition referred to by Mr. Jones: but his note gave rise to another from Thomas Falconer, Esq., of Usk, printed at p. 303 of the same volume, in which he states that the exquisitely finished portrait of Milton, from which the engraving was made which is published in the series of portraits of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—a

* Since the reading of the paper, I have met with a small volume, entitled "Effigies Poeticæ; or, The Portraits of the British Poets, illustrated by Notes, Biographical, Critical and Poetical," London (Carpenter) 1824, which appears to be a reprint of the letter-press descriptions accompanying a series of engraved portraits. "No. 56, John Milton, from a picture by Dobson in Dr. Williams' Library," surely refers to the present portrait, but the estimate there given of its merits is very different from that above expressed. "We have here given," it says, "a resemblance of Milton which has never before been made public. It is as well authenticated, perhaps better, than such pictures usually are; but it fails in some few respects, like all others. Nevertheless, there is something characteristic in it. There is an approach to sweetness and majesty, (both of which Milton possessed in no common degree,) that we do not recollect elsewhere. The eye-brow is contracted, like that of a thinker; the glance is penetrating, yet raised; the mouth wears a sweet expression; and the hair flows down upon the shoulders, and gives a massy character to the whole that is not without its grandeur."

painting on vellum—belonged to his grandfather, a son of Mr. Falconer, recorder of Chester, whose wife was born in 1703, and was a daughter of Mr. Wilbraham of Townsend. He adds, however, that he knows of no fact to identify this miniature with the portrait mentioned by Mr. Jones; and states his belief that it was never in the possession of the Wilbraham family. Mr. Falconer's history of the miniature offers no ground for animadversion; but contains nothing to connect it with Milton: and the Society which publicly adopted it as a portrait of him may share with their publisher the credit of having diffused the useful knowledge that their engraving is "from a miniature of the same size by *Faithorne! anno 1667!!*" To judge from the engraving, Mr. Falconer's praises of the miniature, as a work of art, are well deserved; but the young gentleman it represents had certainly not numbered half of Milton's years at the date attributed to it, and, when Milton was of the age there represented, Faithorne was in his boyhood: nor was he at any period of his life a miniature painter. If therefore the above name and date are found on the miniature, they are a clumsy forgery; but it is not stated by Mr. Falconer that there is any lettering on it. Faithorne, as we have seen, is the common vouchee of Milton portraits; and the date of 1667 may have been suggested by Pickering's engraving of 1826 (No. 82) in which, as I took occasion to explain, the figures had no reference to the date of any picture. The engravings are as follows:—

161. John Milton. Engraved by T. Woolnoth from a miniature of the same size by Faithorne, anno 1667, in the possession of William Falconer, Esq. An oval, $2\cdot6 \times 2\cdot1$, within a shaded rectangle. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

162. John Milton. Engraved by Samuel Freeman from a miniature by Faithorne, anno 1667. Published by Archibald Fullarton & Co., Glasgow; in Cunningham's *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen*, 8 vols. 8vo, Glasgow, 1835-7; an enlarged copy from the preceding.

163. John Milton. No name of engraver; rectangle, $2\cdot6 \times 2\cdot1$; a close copy of the society's print.

164. Milton. No name of engraver; rectangle, $2\cdot1 \times 1\cdot6$; in the same plate with Barrow, Pope and Defoe; published by Routledge & Co.; in *Knight's Half-hours with the best Authors*.

I have now exhausted my list of portraits, having purposely excluded several prints which seemed to me scarcely to come under that denomination,

such as Vertue's plate of Milton between Homer and Virgil, mentioned by Granger—Sant's imaginary portrait—Faed's large print of Milton in his study—and various others, in which he is represented as dictating to his daughter, or acting in the imaginary character of amanuensis to Cromwell. I have also abstained from inserting an etching by Hollar, of extreme rarity, of which there is a copy in the print room of the British Museum, going by the name of Milton. It represents a very youthful bust, which I can imagine no reason for supposing to be Milton; and as it is unlettered, we have no right to class it among pseudo-portraits. That I have made some mistakes, and more omi-sions, I am prepared to find: but if my paper should receive the honor of being printed, it may serve as a text for the reception of additional information and corrections, which may enable me at some future period to reproduce it in a more perfect form. In the meantime, that I may not be guilty of any wilful omission, I conclude my list by enumerating a few prints, which I have found mentioned in various catalogues, &c., but which I have not had an opportunity of describing. Granger mentions "John Milton; a square print with a label under the head, G. Vandergucht sc. neat;" and Bronley mentions it in similar terms. Wivell (*Portraits of Shakespeare* p. 234) mentions a print by Faber on a half-sheet with Shakespeare, Ben. Jonson and Samuel Butler, being one of the series published by John Bowles (See observations above on Simon's copy of the Faithorne print, No. 29: both Simon and Faber seem to have been employed on Bowles's series; and in some instances the same author appears engraved by both). Rodd's Catalogue of British Portraits, 1812, mentions an 8vo print by Coster: and Evans's Catalogue describes a 4to print of Milton at four different ages; a rare print 12mo by Phinn; and a folio by Gunst. Some of these may turn out to be prints already noticed, but which, for want of lettering, I have been unable to identify.

From the account I have given of the number of existing portraits, mediately or immediately derived from a very few originals, it results that many having some claim to authenticity are probably still in existence. The history of the Janssen portrait happily needs no discussion; and I hope the doubts as to the recent history and present deposit of the Onslow portrait will shortly be set at rest. No mention has ever been made of any drawing for the purpose of the Marshal print. Faithorne's original, assuming it to have been the crayon drawing of which we have heard so

much, is last heard of in the possession of the Tonsons : for I must maintain, until actual inspection satisfies me to the contrary, that the idea of its having passed to Mr. Baker has arisen from confounding it with a copy from the White drawing, or Richardson's "excellent original in crayons." The copy so made may, perhaps, be yet in the collection at Bayfordbury ; and the subsequent copies from it by Simpson for the engravings of Baker, Collyer and Dean are probably in the possession of the publishers of Todd's Milton. The "excellent original" itself, and the copy which I have conjectured to have been made from it for Vertue's 1750 engraving, are not traced beyond the Tonsons, nor, with certainty, even to them. Vertue's drawing for his 1725 engraving is traced by the inscription on Gardiner's print in Boydell's Milton (No. 79) to the possession of Mr. Brand Hollis ; and I hope it is still in the worthy custody of the inheritor of his literary treasures. The various drawings by Cipriani may be looked for in the same place ; but I should be inclined to assign to them a much lower value. The drawing for Vandergucht's engraving (No. 89) has not been mentioned as having been preserved. Of Richardson's drawings many are probably in existence. Various others of the prints above described may possibly have been engraved from drawings taken specially for the purpose.

I have avoided any discussion of the subject of original pictures and drawings, except such as necessarily arose out of my treatment of my subject ; but a few lines may properly be devoted to the mention of such as I find noticed in the various works I have consulted. Some of them may be drawings the probable existence of which I have just been speculating on ; and others would only swell the list of pseudo-portraits ; but even these may in some cases have been the subject of engravings which have escaped my notice, and on that account should be mentioned here to reduce the risk of accidental omission. It will require strong evidence to establish the authenticity of any beyond those I have mentioned ; and nothing but internal evidence can now be expected. The strongest case likely to be made out, so far as I have at present the means of judging (for I have not yet seen the picture), is one which has been kindly brought under my notice by Albert Way, Esq., whose ready help I should be most ungrateful if I did not warmly acknowledge. It is at Capesthorne, the seat of Arthur Davenport, Esq., by whose father it was bought at Lady Holland's sale, at Christie's, and was brought from Amptill soon after

her death. It is inscribed IOHANNES MILTON EFFIG^s. ANNO SAL^s. MDCLXXIII ÆTATIS 65, and bears the name of Riley as the Painter inscribed on a stone pilaster. These particulars are from information obtained for me from the family by Mr. Way, who describes the picture, as a painting, with admiration, and as bearing the stamp of authenticity. It represents the poet blind, and caressing his dog. The name of Riley is mentioned by Todd in connection with a portrait for which he expresses his obligations to a Mr. Charnock, and says it "has been affirmed by some to have been a portrait of Milton by Dobson, but conjectured by others to have been a performance of Riley, who lived rather too late to delineate Milton.* Some have supposed it may be a head of his brother Christopher. It is, however, remarkable that Mr. Greenslade, a collector of paintings, who resides in Bond Street, London, has a copy of the very painting, which has been called a portrait of the Poet." An alleged miniature of Milton when young, which Warton mentions as in the possession of the Duchess of Portland, and describes as "having a face of stern thoughtfulness, and to use the poet's expression, severe in youthful beauty," was sold, along with an alleged miniature of his mother, at the sale of the Portland museum, in 1786, for £34. (See *Gent. Mag.*, 1786, p. 527; *Todd's Milton*, I, p. 143, 146, ed. 1809.) In the same note Todd states that "at West Wycomb Manor House, in Buckinghamshire, there is a fine portrait of Milton, supposed to be an original," (see *Langley's Hist. and Antiq. of the Hund. of Desborough*, p. 417,) and that "Mr. Waldron is in possession of a painting which exhibits a likeness of the Poet in his middle age." Mr. Mitford writes, "I once knew a portrait of Milton at Lord Braybrooke's, Audley end, in the gallery (with a beard): I also saw one of him when young at Lord Townshend's, at Rainham; but many years have passed, and I cannot recollect any particulars. Charles Lamb, Esq., possesses an original portrait,† left by his brother, and accidentally bought in London. * * * I have heard that an original portrait of Milton (about thirty years of age) has been discovered by Mr R Lemon of the State Paper Office." (*Pickering's Aldine Milton*, p. xc, n.) An oil

* He was born in 1646.

† Mr. Cunningham mentions it as "the Charles Lamb and Moxon portrait," and says "it is a striking likeness of the poet, and is an old picture, though there is no proof that the poet ever sat for it."—(*Johnson's Lives*, I, 131, n.)

painting, I presume that last mentioned, was exhibited by Mr. Lemon to the Society of Antiquaries on the 17th March, 1853, as reported in *Gent. Mag.*, N.S., xxxix, 526, and was stated to have formerly had the Poet's name in an old handwriting on the back of the canvass, but removed on the relining of the picture a few years ago. To these notices I may add that I have seen a painting in the possession of Mr. Graves, the printseller, from which I imagine the head in Faed's print to have been drawn; and Mr. Way mentions to me a life size portrait, in oils, formerly belonging to his father, at his seat, Stansted Park, Sussex, but which on the sale of the property was handed over to the purchaser in consequence of its forming one of a series of literary portraits partly inlaid in the paneled wainscot. Upwards of ten years ago the same obliging correspondent mentioned to me a painting, attributed to Walker, formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks, and now belonging to Archdeacon Bonney, of Lincoln.* Of busts, besides those I have mentioned, one in marble by Scheemaker, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his sale by Mr. Duncombe for £11 11s., is stated in *Hollis's Memoirs* to have been copied exactly from the plaister bust. A marble bust in the print room of the British Museum bears a strong resemblance to the features of the White portrait. A paragraph in the *Athenæum* of 10th August, 1850, mentions the purchase by Mr. Labouchere, for 200 guineas, of a marble bust of Milton, made, it is said,

* An exhibition of miniatures has been held by the Archæological Institute since the reading of the paper; and Mr. Way mentions to me two miniatures there exhibited; one of them, belonging to Mr. Russell, the accountant-general, I imagine from the description to be a copy of the Onslow portrait; the other, exhibited by the Duke of Buccleugh, described as a young portrait, with light brown hair and falling band, and inscribed "John Milton by Cooper," I do not identify, from the description given me, with any portrait I know. A sale catalogue of Messrs. Chinnock and Galsworthy (18th June, 1860) includes an alleged portrait of Milton by James Houseman. To collect the notices of pretended Milton portraits from sale catalogues and similar sources would, however, be an endless and useless task. The notorious old Zincke, of Windmill Street, Lambeth, whose name is so familiar in connection with the Talma Shakespeare, is stated by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (2nd S., X, 122) to have "died" about twenty-five years since, and left behind him about twenty portraits of Shakespeare "and Milton &c., all in pledge at the various West End pawnbrokers", and also a catalogue "(written in a small memorandum book) of all the portraits he had manufactured of his "favorite trio, Shakespeare, Milton and Nell Gwynn; but Shakespeare sold the best." Such anecdotes should serve as a caution against credulity in the reception of unauthenticated portraits: but I suspect the Milton manufacture of old Zincke had less tendency to the perpetuation of pseudo-portraits than the practice—of which the Falconer miniature is so flagrant an instance—of appending circumstantial statements of dates and artists' names to portraits which have originally been assigned to Milton on no better authority than conjecture.

from the life by an Italian sculptor during the poet's visit to Italy. Its history is not stated: but it is worthy of note that Mr. Thomas Hollis was so far impressed with the belief that there was somewhere in Florence a marble bust of Milton, as to be induced to make search for it in 1762, but without success. (*See Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, p. 167, *Warton's Minor Poems*, 333, ed. 1791.) A medallion by Wedgwood, a drawing from which is in my possession, completes the list of representations of Milton's features which I have thought it necessary to mention.

THE

History & Traditions

OF

ST. PANCRAS.

BY THOMAS COULL.

Dedicated,

BY PERMISSION, TO THE
REV. WILLIAM WELDON CHAMPNEYS, M.A.,
VICAR OF ST. PANCRAS,
AND CANON OF ST. PAUL'S.

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Preface.

It having often been a subject of expressed regret that the history of so great and important a parish as that of St. Pancras remained unwritten, the author of this little work was encouraged to undertake the laborious task of collecting what information could be obtained, and present such to the public. That the subject is not without interest, most readers, who are acquainted with the district, will acknowledge ; and that there is plenty of material is proved by the fact, that it has been found impossible, within the limits of this book, to scarcely touch upon the modern history of the parish. Having, however, laid the foundation, as it were, it is to be hoped that a history upon a more extensive scale, and more worthy of the parish, will follow ; and if such should be the result, the labour will not have been undertaken in vain. In conclusion, the author desires to thank all those friends who have kindly afforded much valuable information, without which the work would necessarily have been very imperfect ; as also those who have contributed to its success by their approval and support.

FEBRUARY, 2, 1861.

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ERRATA—In the List of Vicars, page 10, it is stated that Canon Dale entered the vicarage in 1842, it should read, 1846

In the article on "The Old Lamb's Conduit," page 17, "for these works were begun the six-and-twentieth day of August," &c., read "the six-and-twentieth day of MARCH."

In the article on "Remarkable Houses," page 51, it is stated that Holly Lodge was purchased by Sir Francis Burdett Coutts, it should read "was purchased by MR. Coutts."

THE

History & Traditions

OF

ST. PANCRAS.

INTRODUCTION.—TOPOGRAPHY.

WHEN the Norman Conqueror ordered a survey to be taken of the whole of his newly-acquired dominion, a large extent of country somewhat to the north-west of the City of London, and mostly covered with the ancient forest of Middlesex, was known as St. Pancras. It covers an area of 2,700 acres, and its soil is composed of clay, gravel, and loam. It is bounded on the north by Hampstead, Finchley, and Hornsey parishes; on the west by the parish of Marylebone; on the south by the parishes of Bloomsbury and St. Andrews, Holborn; and on the east by Clerkenwell and Islington.

DERIVATION OF THE NAME ST. PANCRAS.— HISTORY OF THE SAINT.

ST. PANCRAS derives its name from the saint who suffered martyrdom, under the Emperor Dioclesan, at Rome. It is very probable that many may have imagined St. Pancras to have been a venerable disciple, with a flowing white beard and a long loose garment, and, like Polycarp, or Ignatius, the head of some ancient district church. If so, they are quite mistaken. Pancratius (for that was his Roman name) was but a little handsome boy, about fifteen years of age, when he died as a martyr. He was the son of an ancient and wealthy Phrygian nobleman, in which country he was born. The first ten years of his life was spent at Synnada, and his mother, of whom he was devotedly fond, had brought him up with tender care, and his childish days were one round of sunshine and pleasure. When only nine years of age, how-

ever, he lost his beloved parent, and Cleonius buried his wife beside the waters of a brook that ran through his estate. Every day for three months, did he and his little boy Pancratius visit the mother's grave, to weep over and strew flowers upon the soil under which she rested. At the end of that time the father himself died out of grief for the loss of his partner. As he lay on his death-bed, however, and just before he died, he sent for his brother, and his last earnest request was that he should take charge of his orphan child, Pancratius, and educate him as though he were his own son.

The boy's uncle promised faithfully to carry out the request of his dying brother. He thought that the best method which he could pursue to fulfil that wish, would be to take his little charge to Rome, that there he might have the advantage of the best instruction, and when he grew older would have an opportunity of perhaps obtaining a good position in the state. He accordingly did so, and it was in the reign of the Emperor Dioclesan, about the year of our Lord 290, that Pancratius and his uncle arrived in the Imperial city.

The Christian religion was at that time, as indeed, it had been for a long while past, the subject of the bitterest persecution, and many of the disciples of our Lord had sealed their testimony with their blood. At that period, however, there lived amongst the Christians at Rome a pastor or bishop of the church whose name was Marcellinus. This good and devoted man was in the habit of going secretly from house to house, affectionately telling the heathen Romans whom he could persuade to listen to him that Jesus, the despised Nazarene, was the Saviour of Mankind.

The Emperor Dioclesan himself was a great

enemy to the Christians, and amongst those who assisted him in his efforts to exterminate them was his minister Galerius, a man even more cruel than himself, and who at last persuaded him to put all the Christians to death. In consequence of this cruel resolve more vigorous proceedings than ever were taken, and many professing the new religion were put to excruciating torments, some being flayed alive, others burnt or thrown to the wild beasts at the Coliseum. Notwithstanding these persecutions, and though Marcellinus expected from day to day that his own turn would come, he fearlessly went at the dead of night, when all Rome was slumbering, from house to house, cheering the desponding and rousing the indifferent.

One night, as Marcellinus was engaged in this good and courageous work, he happened to enter the house in which resided Pancratius and his uncle. To them he earnestly expounded the doctrines of the new faith; and it is stated that he principally preached from the Gospel of St. John. They listened and believed; they forsook the worship of the Temple of Jupiter, and often at midnight, with lighted torches in their hands, they would wend their way to the catacombs of Rome, there to celebrate the Lord's Supper and to commune with fellow Christian friends. Upon the approach of morning the catacombs would disgorge these nocturnal assemblages, the members returning to their separate homes, invigorated and strengthened against the terrors of death, and resolved, come what may, to confess Christ before all men.

As we have said, the portion of Scripture from which Marcellinus principally expounded was the Gospel of St. John, and the orphan boy and his uncle took mutual delight in repeating to each other all that they could remember of what they had heard in the catacombs. Unfortunately the uncle died soon after his conversion, leaving young Pancratius alone in the world and almost broken-hearted. The day following this sad event, as he was kneeling beside the dead body, engaged in earnest prayer, four Roman soldiers entered the room, and one of them, laying his hand upon the youth's shoulder, bade him rise and prepare to enter the presence of the Emperor. Brushing away his blinding tears, the little Pancratius rose from his knees, when a chain was fastened to his wrists, and after taking a last fond gaze at the calm but rigid features of his dead uncle, he followed the guard to the Imperial palace of the Cæsars.

It is said, that though his little arms ached

with the heavy chains, and his tender feet were blistered with the fast walk which the brutal soldiers urged him to make, he displayed a remarkably pleasant and cheerful countenance during his journey along the streets of Rome. Being the son of a nobleman, there is no doubt but that he was considered worthy of a trial, or he would have probably been despatched at once. Dioclesian was seated upon his throne, surrounded by all the insignia of royalty and power, when the footsore child was led into the monarch's presence; and a very striking spectacle it must have appeared, to have seen a weak youth, conscious of the strength of his faith, thus braving, with undaunted courage, the majesty of Imperial Rome. The Emperor himself, bitter as he was against the Nazarenes, was moved with pity when he saw the youthfulness of the hero whom he had given orders to be brought before him. He tried to win him over by promises, instead of using threats, as was his wont. He reminded the boy of his father and mother, how, to their dying day, they had been faithful to the gods of their ancestors, and he promised to take him under his own care, and eventually place him in a high position in the state if he would only offer sacrifice to Jupiter. The child, however, steadfastly refused. The Emperor then turned to threats. He told him that he should be destroyed that very day; that he should not live an hour longer, and that his body should be thrown to the wild beasts. It is recorded, that pale and trembling as he was, he boldly answered, "You may kill me, but I dare not deny my Saviour; I dare not worship idols. God will give me strength to die for him."

"Take the obstinate boy away from my presence," exclaimed the infuriated monarch; "lead him to the Aurelian Way and there dispatch him with your swords." The same legionaries who had brought him to the palace led him out and conducted him to the place where the monarch had directed. It was sunset, and kneeling down upon the pavement, with his hands fastened behind, the noble boy, pierced by the swords of his persecutors, died with the meekness and the heroism of a martyr. Late upon the same evening, some Christian ladies went to the place of his execution, and under the cover of night, secretly fetched away his little mangled corpse and buried it in the catacombs of Rome.

For many years after this Pancratius was forgotten, but after the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, and when the Christian Church at Rome became less pure, and

dug up the relics of saints, amongst those relics the bones of Pancratius were disinterred and regarded as sacred, and a magnificent church was erected over his burial place. From this church at Rome, all others of the

same name derive their title; and such are the interesting old Latin records of the history of the youthful saint, which gave the name to the parish of St. Pancras.

The Ancient Manors.

IN that invaluable record, the "Doomsday Book," caused to be written by William the Conqueror, and which is still kept in good preservation in the Record Office, Chancery Lane, it is stated that Pancras contained four ancient hamlets, or prebendary manors, viz., Kentish Town (anciently called Cantelows, or Kennistonne); the hamlet of Tothele, or Tottenham Court; St. Pancras proper, a small cluster of houses round the village church; and the manor of Rigemere. These were the four principal manors in St. Pancras, and the following is a brief history of each:—

CANTELOWS, OR KENNISTONNE.

As regards the origin of the name Kentish Town, some antiquarians think it not improbable that it may have been derived from the name of the wood which once covered its surface, called Ken Wood, part of which still exists on Lord Mansfield's estate, and is now known as Caen Wood. It has ever been, and is now, a prebendial manor, that is, its possessor pays a certain yearly sum to one of the prebends of St. Paul's. A long time ago, at the earliest period of Christian history, one of the Deans of St. Paul's was named Reginald de Kentwoode, from which, no doubt, the wood derived its title; and the name of Kaunteloc, or de Kanteloc, appears in some of the most ancient court-rolls in the neighbouring manor of Tottenham Court, or Tothele. In the "Doomsday Book" it says, "The canons of St. Paul's hold four hides of land in the parish of St. Pancras, for a manor called 'Cantelows or Kennistonne.' The land is of two caracutes;* there is plenty of timber in the hedgerows, good pasture for cattle, a running brook, and 20d. rents. Four villeins,† together with seven bordars,‡ hold this land under the canon of St. Paul's, at 40s. a-year rent." In King Edward's time it was raised to 60s. a-year.

* A *caracut* was as much land as could be cultivated by one plough.

† *Villiens* were common tillers of the soil, and were the absolute property of the pro-

prietors of the land on which they laboured. They could hold no property of their own, and were sold with the estate just the same as the cattle, or were transferred from one estate to another like any other goods and chattel.

According to a survey ordered to be taken in the time of Cromwell, in 1649, this manor contained 210 acres of land. The manor-house was then sold to a Richard Hill, a merchant of London, and the manor to Richard Uther, a draper. At the restoration of the monarchy, however, the original lessees, or their representatives, were re-instated in their possession of the manor, but about the year 1670 it again changed hands, John Jeffreys, father of Sir Jeffreys Jeffreys, alderman of London, becoming proprietor. By the intermarriage of Earl Camden with Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Richard Jeffreys, grandson of Sir John, it became vested in him in right of his wife, and it is now the property of the Earl Camden. The estate is held subject to a reserved rent of £20 1s. 5d. per annum, paid to the prebendary of St. Paul's.

In ancient times the monks of Waltham Abbey, Essex, held an estate in the parish of St. Pancras, called by them Cane Lond, (now

prietors of the land on which they laboured. They could hold no property of their own, and were sold with the estate just the same as the cattle, or were transferred from one estate to another like any other goods and chattel.

‡ A *bordar* or *cottar* was a little higher in the social scale than a villien. He generally rented a piece of land and a cottage, for which he undertook to supply the lord of the manor's table with a certain quantity of eggs, butter, poultry, &c.

part of Caen Wood), with woods and pasture valued at £13. In the year 1661, Venner, who raised an insurrection, and placed himself at the head of the fifth monarchy men, fled with his followers to Caen Wood, and there hid themselves for about two weeks in the month of January. Several celebrated historians and antiquarians think that Caen Wood is the remains of the ancient forest of Middlesex. In 1661 this estate appears to have been the property of John Bull, Esq., who married Lady Pelham; afterwards it fell into the hands of an upholsterer, named Dutton, who bought it out of a sum of money he had made in the celebrated South Sea Bubble scheme. Soon after, however, it fell into the hands of the Duke of Argyle, then into those of the Earl of Bute, and, finally came into the possession of Lord Mansfield, whose property it now is. During the time of the late Earl Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the seat which he erected in Caen Wood was the scene of much festivity. A visit to the summer seat of the Chief Justice at Hampstead, was considered by the fashionable world as great a trip into the country as a journey to Land's End is now; and during the season it was crowded with the wit, learning and fashion of the great world of London. The Earl spent vast sums in embellishing and improving his seat and beautifying the grounds. The most remarkable room in the building is the library, a very splendid apartment, about 60 feet long by 21 wide) ornamented with paintings by Zucchi; there are also fine busts of Sir Isaac Newton and of Homer, the last of which was bequeathed to Lord Mansfield by Pope. The paintings in the hall are by Rebecca, and in the beautiful parlour is a fine portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton. The grounds, including the wood consist of about 40 acres, and connected with them are seven ponds, which gave rise to the river Fleet. In an old chronicle, it states, "that there were some beautiful water-works connected with these springs and ponds, under the management of a company, incorporated in 1692. These springs are made to supply some houses in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court with pure water!"

THE MANOR OF TOTHELE, OR TOTTENHAM-COURT.

THE manor of Tothele, or Tottenham Court, is thus described in the records of the Domesday Book: "The land is of four carucates, but only seven parts in eight are

cultivated. There are four villiens and four cottars; wood and keep for 150 hogs, and about 40s. per annum arising from the sale of herbage. Rental, £4." In King Edward's time its value had risen to £5. This manor is also prebendary, and for a long time was kept by the prebend of Tottenham in his own hands. In 1343, John De Caletton held a court-baron as lessee, and the prebendary the same year held a view of frank-pledge, consummating the lease with the above personage. In the year 1590 the manor and palace of Tottenham were demised to Queen Elizabeth for 99 years. In the year 1639 a lease was granted to Charles I.; and in 1649 it was seized as crown land by the Commonwealth and sold to Ralph Harrison, Esq., for £3,318 3s. 11d. At the restoration of the monarchy, it again reverted to the crown; and in 1661 it was granted by Charles II. to Sir H. Wood, in payment of a debt which that spendthrift monarch owed to that individual. After that the lease became the property of Isabella, Countess of Arlington, from whom it was inherited by her son Charles, Duke of Grafton. In 1768, the lease became vested in the Hon. Charles Fitzroy (afterwards Lord Southampton), and an Act of Parliament was passed by which the fee-simple of the manor was invested in him, subject to the payment of £300 per annum, in lieu of the ancient reserved rent of £46. According to a survey taken in 1649, the manor comprised about 240 acres.

In 1730, Tottenham Court was a kind of suburban resort of the London people. Its upper end, near Whitfield Chapel, was bordered with the hawthorn hedge, and on either sides were pleasant fields. About that time, an amphitheatre was erected by Smallwood and the celebrated George Taylor, and its entertainments were exclusively devoted to boxing and pugilistic encounters. The manners and the customs of the times were then so depraved that it was filled every night, and its audience comprised a good sprinkling of the nobility. A fair was also held annually, near Whitfield Chapel, and in the booths erected at such fair, some of the actors from the theatres royal, most celebrated for comic humour, entertained the public with droll interludes. It became, however, to be the resort of so much vice, that the Justices were obliged to suppress it in 1744. In 1748, a man named Daniel French, opened an amphitheatre in Tottenham Court Road, at which, during the year, he exhibited an entertainment called the "Country Wake," consisting of a display of cudgel-playing, boxing, wrestling, fisticuffs, and winding up with a general *melée*. In 1780, Earl Sandwich

suggested the opening of a theatre in Tottenham Court Road, for the performance of ancient music, and the place became so popular that it was several times honoured by the King and Queen, indeed, they regularly attended for some time. After having had its day, it became a place of resort where comic pantomime and melodrama were played. This theatre is now known as the "Queen's"

THE MANOR OF PANCRAS.

THE third great manor into which the parish of St. Pancras was in days of yore divided, consisting of the land near the village church and round about Somers Town, was called Pancras Manor. It now includes several estates, such as the Skinner's, the Bedford, the Agar estates, &c., which were detached from the manor after the dissolution of the monasteries. When the great survey of Domesday was taken, Walter, a Canon of St. Paul's, held two hides of land in Pancras. "The land in this manor," says that record, "is of one caracute, and employs one plough. On the estate are twenty-four men, who pay a rent of 30s. per annum." The accounts respecting the possessors of this manor are of a very imperfect and scanty nature for a long time after that period, but in 1375 we find that Joan, wife of Robert Lord Ferrers, died possessing this estate, paying a rent to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, of 30s. In 1378 it was sold to Sir Robert Knowles, and in 1381, the reversion, which belonged to the crown, was granted, after the death of Robert and his wife, to the prior and convent of the house of Carthusian monks, built in honour of the Holy Salutation. After the dissolution of the monasteries, it came into the possession of Earl Somers, in whose hands the principal portion of it still remains.

The most remarkable historical incident connected with Somers Town is an account of its being supposed to be the site of an ancient Roman camp, called the "Brill," and which stood at the top of Brewer Street, around the spot where the old church now stands. Stukeley, the antiquarian, says the name *Brill* was applied to many old Roman stations. There is a village of Brill in Buckinghamshire, which Camden thinks must have been a Roman station, from the fact that an immense number of coins have been discovered there; he also mentions a Roman camp near Chichester, which retained the name of *Brill* or *Briele*. It was not long after Cæsar invaded the shores of Albion that he encamped upon this spot, and the circum-

stances which gave rise to it are narrated in the following terms:—

"Cæsar, having in his progress through the country, crossed the Thames at Chertsey, encamped near Staines, where a splendid embassy of Londoners waited upon him, desiring his alliance and protection, and asking him to restore their Prince, Mundabrace, who had fled to Gaul to seek refuge from the enemies who had conspired against him at home, and had placed himself in Cæsar's retinue. Cæsar promised to attend to the deputation, and having first attacked a hostile British chief who had retreated to Watford, he turned towards London with the intention of re-instating Mundabrace. On his arrival near the metropolis, Cæsar did not deem it advisable to encamp in the city itself, he therefore pitched his camp in the north, just where old St. Pancras Church now stands, and there the Londoners came to meet him and arrange for the reinstating of their king."

All traces of this camp are now swept away, but Stukeley, the authority we have just quoted, who lived in the last century, in a house in Queen-square, says, "That in his time, over against the church, in the foot-path on the west side of the brook, the valium or ditch was perfectly visible, its breadth from east to west forty paces; its length from north to south, sixty. North of the church was a square moated about, originally the prætorium or residence of the English king, and where Cæsar made the British kings, Casvelham and Mundabrace as good friends as ever, the latter presenting him with that famous corslet of pearls which the conqueror afterwards bestowed upon Venus in her temple at Rome."

We are bound to record that much dispute has taken place amongst antiquarians as to the truth of Dr. Stukeley's statement. Some say that the ditches and earthworks he talked of were formed of the intrenchments and ramparts raised in the fields near Pancras Church in 1642: and an old chronicle states, that during the civil wars in the time of Cromwell, walls of raised earth were thrown up in the grounds contiguous to the Duke of Bedford's House in Bedford Fields. That, however, does not do away with the fact that the neighbourhood of the Brill was an old Roman encampment, for the name *Brill* is decidedly of Latin origin, and it is well known that Cæsar encamped about the spot, and the forces in the time of Cromwell might have made use of the same site and re-constructed or improved the more ancient earthworks.

The Manor of Pancras continued to be principally a pastoral district till the year 1700, the village itself consisting only of a few lonely houses surrounding the village church. When a visitation of St. Pancras Church was made by order of the Dean of St. Paul's in the year 1251, there were only forty houses in the whole parish, and those of the meanest description. The desolate condition of the village of Pancras, is thus quaintly described by Norden the historian, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth :—

"About the Old Church there have been manie buildings now decayed, leaving poor Pancras alone, without companie or comforte. Although the place be as it were forsyken of all, and true men seldom frequent the same, but on divine occasions, when they come from the surrounding countrie for to praye; yet it is oft visited by thieves, who assembled not there to praye but to lay in wait for praye; and manie men fall into their hands that are clothed, who are very glad if they can manage to escape all safe naked. Walk not there too late."

A very sad condition for *poor* Pancras to be in, it must certainly be confessed, and the quaint pun which the historian endeavours to make at its expense, as well as the warning at the end of his remarks is extremely interesting. It was probably about those periods the resort of robbers and highwaymen, who laid in wait for travellers proceeding to the north, and who frequented the country lanes that led to Highgate from the metropolis. Indeed, so infested were these parts with foot-pads that less than one hundred years ago, travellers, who were about to proceed to Highgate or the north, would drop in at some hostelry just on the outskirts, and wait in mine host's parlour until a goodly company was made up, when, for mutual protection and safety, they would start off together.

Rise and Progress of Somers Town.—The French Emigrants.

In the year 1790 the metropolis had grown so large that buildings began to extend rapidly into the neighbouring suburbs. The first speculators, however, who obtained a lease from Earl Somers, and took to building upon Somers Town, did not meet with much encouragement. Houses were run up and streets built, but they were so difficult of access (for the Euston Road was not then made) that large numbers remained unoccupied. At length, however,

the French Revolution took place, and many of the people who adhered to the ancient Bourbon monarchy of that country, sought an asylum in London from the storm of anarchy and terror which then swept over that land. When they arrived in London, the emigrant French Roman Catholic priests fixed upon Somers Town as a desirable spot for the refugees to reside in. A great many houses were then unoccupied; they would, therefore, have the advantage of being together if located there. Another advantage was they would be near to the what they considered the Catholic cemetery in St. Pancras, and as but few of them ever expected to see their own country again, it was some consolation to think that they would be buried amongst their own kindred. Indeed, St. Pancras churchyard was long looked upon with favour by Catholics as a place of interment. Various reasons are given for this preference. Some say it was in consequence of being the last place belonging to the Established Church where Romish mass was celebrated; others that St. Pancras was the name of a church in the south of France from whose neighbourhood many of these refugees had come. The most probable, however, was its convenience, and the associations were called up in connection with it afterwards. These poor emigrants, nearly all of whom had lived in comparative ease and luxury in their own land, were reduced to a state of beggary when they arrived in Somers Town; for it must be remembered that those who thus fled their country were not the mere mob, who professed anything to suit the times, but were men of strong principle, who sacrificed all—land, houses, and wealth, to uphold it, and many of their descendants are amongst the most respected of our parishioners at the present day.

The sojourn of the ejected French emigrants in Somers Town, caused a great rise in rents, and stimulated builders to extend their operations in that neighbourhood. The French, however, in their hurried flight, having brought nothing with them, were soon thrown into a state of terrible destitution, and Somers Town was turned into a miserable district, known only in connection with want and wretchedness. At last a truly amiable and philanthropic Catholic, named Abbé Carron, came amongst them, and instituted several establishments for their relief, including a hospital for the reception of the aged and infirm French clergy, and a receptacle for the distressed female emigrants. Indeed, Abbé Carron's exertions were unceasing. In 1810 he established an institution for the re-

lief of the destitute of his own congregation. Here soup was doled out to the poor hungry applicants twice a week, and wine, clothing, and pecuniary assistance administered when absolutely needed. In the Roman Catholic chapel in Clarendon Square, built for the especial accommodation of the emigrants, stands a monument which was erected to the memory of this truly good man. The chapel also contains the remains of the Princess Condé.

A few years after the arrival of the French Catholics in Somers Town, a very interesting article appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, upon the surprising progress of this district. It was then rising into importance, and the New Road had just been cut through the fields. As it affords some idea of the condition of St. Pancras sixty years ago, it is given entire, as it was addressed to the editor of the above publication:—

“Oct. 13, 1813.

“SIR,—Permit me to acquaint you, from an irresistible whim, of what has occurred during the last thirty years in the place honoured by my residence in the north of London. A road has been lately called the *New Road*, which has intersected extensive fields from Tottenham Court Road to Battle Bridge; about mid-way, and on the south-side of the same stood the famous ‘Bowling-green House,’ which had been noted for at least a century as a country retreat for Londoners on a Sunday afternoon; and lower down, on the opposite side, was the ‘Brill,’ a comfortable country tavern, and perhaps more ancient than its rival. A few houses near the ‘Mother Red Cap,’ at Camden Town, and the Old Church of St. Pancras, were the only buildings that interrupted the view of the country from Queen Square and the Foundling Hospital. With the exception of the two buildings already mentioned, and a group of tall trees in a lane leading from Gray’s Inn Lane to the ‘Bowling-green House,’ there was nothing to interrupt the view. Commencing at Southampton Row, near Holborn, is an excellent private road belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and the fields along the road are intersected with paths in various directions. The pleasantness of the situation, and the temptation offered by the New Road, induced some people to build on the land, and the Somers Places east and west arose; a few low buildings near the Duke’s Road (now near the ‘Lord Nelson’), first made their appearance, accompanied by others of the same description; and, after a while, Somers Town was

planned. Mr. Jacob Leroux became the principal landowner under Lord Somers. The former built for himself a handsome house, and various streets were named from the title of the noble lord (Somers), a chapel was opened, and a polygon begun in a square. Everything seemed to prosper favourably when some unforeseen cause arose which checked the fervour of building, and many carcasses of houses were sold for less than the value of building materials.

“In the meantime gradual advances were made on the north side of the New Road, from Tottenham Court Road, and, finally, the buildings on the south side reached the line of Gower Street. Somewhat lower, and near to Battle Bridge, there was a long grove of stunted trees which never seemed to thrive; and on the site of the Bedford Nursery a pavilion was erected, in which her Royal Highness the Duchess of York gave away colours to a volunteer Regiment. The interval between Southampton Place and Somers Town was one vast brickfield.

“The influx of French emigrants, caused by the goings on in France, has contributed to the prosperity of Somers Town, by their occupying most of the previously empty houses; and the increase of the native population began to be perceptible by the demand for ground offered in building leases by the Duke of Bedford and the Foundling Hospital, whose trustees own a great deal of land in the neighbourhood. The consequence is the erection of such streets as Guildford Street, Bernard Street, and the houses comprising Brunswick and Russell Squares, and Tavistock Place and Chapel, the east side of Woburn Place, &c. During this time the death of Mr. Leroux occurred, and his large property being submitted to the hammer, numbers of small houses were sold for less than £150, at rents of £20 per annum each. The value of money decreasing at this time, from £30 to £40 were demanded as rents for these paltry habitations; hence many who could obtain the means became builders—carpenters, retired publicans, leather-workers, haymakers, &c., each contrived to build his house, and every street was lengthened in its turn. The barracks for the Life Guards in Chalton Street, became a very diminutive square, and now we really find several of these streets approaching the Old Pancras Road. The Company of Skinners, who own thirty acres of land, perceiving these projectors succeed in covering the north side of the Euston Road from Somers Place to Battle Bridge, and that the street named from them has reached the

Brill Tavern (lately destroyed), have offered the ground to Mr. Burton to build upon, and it is now covered by Judd Street, Tonbridge Place, and a new chapel for some description of dissenters or other, and thus you see, Mr. Editor, we have lived to see Somers Town completely annexed to London.

"After several fruitless attempts to support the old chapel in Wilsted Street, the members of the Established Church gave way to the Baptists, who flourish wonderfully, and have a Lancastrian school to assist. The venerable little St. Pancras Church still remains, but it is too true an emblem of the decline of our church, shrinking into nothing in comparison with its towering rivals, (the chapels just mentioned) and the noble parish workhouse adjoining.

"To return, however, to the New Road, where, close by a pretty cottage, surrounded by a large flower-garden, and fronting another of vegetables, we find they are about to erect a magnificent square, to be called 'Euston-square,' and this, with Seymour Place, will complete the connexion with Tottenham Court Road.

"To conclude: Clarendon-square, which encloses the Polygon, contains, on the north side, the establishments of the Abbé Carron, a gentleman who does his native country honour. He resides in the house lately occupied by the builder Leroux, and presides over four schools for young ladies, poor girls, young gentlemen, and poor boys. A dormitory, bakehouse, &c., are situated between his house and the emigrant Catholic chapel recently built, which contains a monument to the Princess Condé; further on is the school for the poor girls, and at the back of the whole are convenient buildings for the above purposes and a large garden. The general voice of the place is in favour of the Abbé, and he has been of incalculable service to his distressed fellow-sufferers, who are enthusiastic in his praise.—Yours, &c.,

"P. MALCOLM."

Such was the state of Somers Town in 1813. The Horse Barracks alluded to have been removed to Albany Street, Regent's Park; the Baptist Chapel is still in Wilsted Street; and the chapel *belonging to some description of dissenters or other* is Tonbridge Chapel, of which the much-respected Mr. Madgin is the minister.

The Skinner's Estate.

The Skinner's Estate in St. Pancras is

held in trust by the Hon. and Worshipful Company of Skinners on behalf of their school at Tonbridge in Kent. The property was known by the name of the Sandhills Estate, and consists of about thirty acres of land bequeathed by Sir Andrew Judde, Lord Mayor of London in 1558, towards the endowment of a school which he had founded in his native town of Tonbridge. Hence the nomenclature of various streets and edifices upon the said estate: Judd Street, Skinners' Street, Tonbridge Place, Tonbridge Chapel, &c.

It is interesting to note the value of property then and now. In the old knight's will, made in the year 1588, he says, "I give and bequeath my estate called Sandhills, consisting of a close of pasture situated at the back-side of Holborn in the parish of Pancras, and valued at £13 6s. 8d. per annum, to the Company of Skinners on behalf of my school at Tonbridge, in Kent." Only *part* of the very same property, valued at £13 6s. 8d. a-year in 1588, was, on the 29th September, 1807, leased to Mr. Burton for 99 years at £2,500 per annum, and when that lease expires, which will occur in Michaelmas, 1906, its yield of revenue will be something enormous.

The school to the support of which Sir Andrew Judde's estate in the parish of St. Pancras is applied, stands at the north end of Tonbridge. It is built in a plain neat uniform style. Behind it there is the master's habitation, together with a hall and refectory for the use of the scholars, and a small yet elegant library, built at the joint expense of the patrons of the school. There are also detached offices, a garden, and a playground.

Among other matters contained in the statutes of the school, it is ordained that the master of the school shall be a Master of Arts, and that he shall have authority to reject such as apply for gratis instruction as day boys, unless they can write competently and read Latin and English perfectly! The whole is under the management of the Skinner's Company, who visit it annually in May. On the occasion of their visit, the company are attended, as their statutes direct, by some respectable London clergyman, whose business it is to examine the several classes of the school. The examiner distributes, as an honorary reward, a silver gilt pen to each of the six senior scholars, who on that day walk in procession to the church before their patrons with garlands of fresh flowers on their heads.

THE MANOR OF RUGGEMERE.

THE extent and exact situation of this manor is not at present known. No estate is held under this prebend, but it is certain that in former times the prebend of Ruggemere held property in the parish of St. Pancras. It is mentioned in the survey of the parish in the year 1251, the records of which are now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Lib. L. Norden, also, in his history, mentions it as an estate belonging to the Dean and Chapter. It is very probable that at the breaking up of the ecclesiastical system at the time of the Reformation it reverted to the crown, and was bought of or given away by the monarch to some of

his favourites, for the liberal manner in which Henry VIII. bestowed his ill-gotten church property upon such is well known. The Bedford family, for instance, acquired all their immense property in the metropolis at that monarch's hands. It is recorded, too, that the title to the Somers estates is held by a gift from the same king, the original "Will Somers," as he was called, being a jester at Court, whose wit drew forth many substantial acknowledgments from his master. The manor of Ruggemere, therefore, was probably situated in the south-eastern part of the parish, now divided into several estates, such as the Calthorpe, Doughty, Swinton, &c.

The Old Church.

IT is difficult to imagine that the ancient and diminutive little edifice in the Old Pancras Road could once have accommodated the whole God-fearing population of this now populous parish. Yet, with the exception of a Chapel of Ease at Kentish Town, it was the only ecclesiastical building the parish could boast till the middle of the last century. It is not known with certainty when the present structure was erected, but its date is fixed about the year 1350; there was, however a building upon the same spot long before that date, for in the records belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in which there is noticed a visitation made to this church in the year 1251, it states "that it had a very small tower, a little belfry, a good stone font for baptisms, and a small marble stone to carry the pax.*"

Norden, whom we have already quoted and who wrote a work in the reign of Elizabeth upon the topography of every parish in Middlesex, makes the following quaint remarks upon the old church and its churchyard:—

"Pancras Church standeth all alone, as utterly forsaken, old, and wether beten, which for the antiquity thereof is thought not to yeeld to St. Paule's in London. Folks from the hamlet of Kennistonne now and then visit it,

but not often, having a chapele of their own. When, however, they have a corpse to be interred, they are forced to leave the same within this forsaken church or churchyard, where it resteth as secure against the day of resurrection as if it laie in stately St. Paule's."

Norden's account makes it evident that there were no body-stealers in those days; it also implies that where the church is situated was then one of the least frequented and desolate spots in the vicinity of the metropolis.

In ancient times divine service was performed in St. Pancras Church only on the first Sunday in every month, and at all other times in the Chapel of Ease at Kentish Town, it being thought that the few people who lived near the church could go up to London to pray, while that at Kentish Town was more suited for the country-folk, and this continued to within the present century. The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's are patrons and ordinaries of the vicarage, and likewise possess the rectory, which they lease, subject to a reserved rent. It first came into their possession about the year 1100. William de Belmeis, nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, being possessed of the prebend of Pancras, within which the church was situated, gave the tithes to the Canons of St. Paul's, which grant was confirmed by Bishop Gilbert (1183), and Belmeis's successor in the prebend, John de St. Lawrence.

* Symbol of Atonement.

Soon afterwards the Dean and Chapter granted the Church of Pancras, with all tithes, &c., to the hospital within the Cathedral founded by Henry de Northampton, reserving to themselves an annual pension of one mark. About the same time Ralph de Diceto, gave the prebend of Tottenham (Tottenham Court) to St. Paul's. Various ancient leases of the rectory are to be found amongst the ecclesiastical records of the cathedral.

After the suppression of chantries, guilds, &c., the rectory came again into the possession of the Dean and Chapter, and has since been leased in the usual manner of church property. By an old rent-book in St. Paul's it appears that in 1630 the land belonging to the rectory was leased by one Margaret Bust; in 1650 John Elborow, clerk, held possession as her heir; in 1694, John Joyner; in 1701, William Brown; 1704, Francis Collins; 1754, Richard Draper; in 1794 the lease was vested in a Mr. Swinerton, of the White Hart Inn, Colebrook, and it has since been leased by the Agar family. It is now, however, in consequence of a non-fulfilment of the conditions of the lease, in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, it is stated, when the leases of the present wretched tenements run out, intend to erect upon it a better class of property. In 1327 the rental of the rectory was valued at 13 marks per annum.

In 1251 (the date at which the visitation was made by order of the Dean of St. Paul's) the vicar had all the small tithes, a pension of £5 per annum out of the great tithes, four acres of glebe land, and a vicarage house near the church. In 1650 the vicarage was rated at £9 per annum; in 1650, £28, and about that time an augmentation was ordered of £50 per annum. The vicarage is now worth about £1,600 per annum.

A list of the vicars from 1183, as far as can be ascertained, is as follows, though there is a great gap at the commencement:

1183. Fulcherius

1190. Alexander.

* * * *

1580. Gray.

— Henry Bradley, sen.

1627. John Elborow. [His son probably the lessee of the rectory in 1650.]

1647. William Birkete.

1657. Randolph Yearwood (Chaplain to the Lord Mayor, 1657.) In the churchyard was formerly a stone to the memory of Randolph Yearwood,

(1689) and Margaret his wife; during the time Yearwood was living the vicarage was under sequestration. He was suspended for performing marriages illegally, and the two following were appointed during his suspension.

1660. Timothy Boughley, Oct. 22, 1660.

1664. Thomas Daniel, A.M., June 17, 1664.

1684. John Marshall.

1707. Nathaniel Marshall, L.L.B. Educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. Rector of St. Vedast and of Michaelle-Quern, London, 1717.

1728. Edward de Chair. He was cardinal of St. Paul's, and presented to the rectory of Coulsden, Surrey, 1737.

1749. Benjamin Mence (King's College, Cambridge.)

1796. Weldon Champneys (Trinity College, Cambridge. — Lecturer of St. Bride's.) [Grandfather of present vicar.]

1811. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D. (The first Bishop of Calcutta)

1814. James Moore, L.L.D., Magdalen Coll.

1842. Thomas Dale, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's. Rural Dean.

1860. W. Weldon Champneys, Canon of St. Paul's.

The estate belonging to the prebend of St. Pancras is about 70 acres. Among the many eminent men who have held the prebendary stall of St. Pancras, may be mentioned Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, and a celebrated English annalist; Laurence Booth, Archbishop of York; John Overall, the Bishop of Norwich; Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester; the Rev. Dr. Paley, Archdeacon of Carlisle, who was succeeded by the Rev. William Beloe, translator of "Herodotus."

The earliest date at which baptisms and marriages were registered in the parish was in 1660; that of burials, 1668. It is to be feared, however, that such register is not entirely correct, because permission being given by the vicar to baptise in the more distant parts of the parish, some registers may be omitted. The following averages of baptisms and deaths as registered will give some idea of the population of the parish at the periods named:—

Year.	Averages of baptisms.	Averages of Deaths.
1668	13	
1686	13	
1697	25	31
1707	29	29

Year.	Averages of baptisms.	Averages of Deaths.
1717	34	79
1727	47	136
1737	61	220
1747	41	279
1784	245	318
1789	271	319
1794	343	389
1795	409	463
1800	474	578
1805	554	615

The rapid increase of the population within the last fifty years gives an average out of all proportion to the above. According to the returns made by Dr. Hillier, the Medical Officer of Health, the number of deaths registered in 1859 was 4,276, and the number of registered births, 6,604, there being now born in the parish every year more than a fifth of the whole inhabitants but half a century ago. As regards the increase of population and houses, in the year 1251, as has been already stated, there were but forty houses in the whole parish. From that period, up to 1801, there are no returns, but in the year 1801 a return was ordered to be made by Parliament, when there were declared to be 4,174 inhabited, 353 uninhabited houses, and 31,779 inhabitants. The population in 1859 was estimated at 200,000 and the number of tenements assessed to the poor rate is nearly 24,000.

The old church has several times been repaired, the most recent of which took place within the last few years, and has given its exterior quite a modern appearance. Upon entering, however, the visitor is struck with its ancient aspect and its diminutive size, and is almost sorry that so unique a memento of the past has not been permitted to wear its ancient outside garment of simplicity and hoary greyness. It consists only of a nave and a chancel. The chancel, as usual, is situated at its eastern end. Heavy beams support the roof, and upon those over the chancel and the western gallery are written in illuminated scrolls, various sentences from scripture, such as, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, he that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out," &c. There is a very elegant stained-glass window over the altar, and on the sides of the chancel are some small circular lights of coloured glass. On either side of the nave are pointed windows of plain glass, and at the western end is a small but elegant oriel window of coloured glass. The walls are exceedingly thick and will, no doubt, last for ages. A narrow

strip of oaken gallery runs along the nave, affording accommodation for only two rows of seats. It is approached by a single circular staircase in the southern tower, and its diminutive size is in keeping with the other parts of the building.

The principal monuments are situated in the chancel, though there are some very ancient and interesting ones in the nave. There are also some very old monuments in the churchyard, which has been long noted as the burial place of the Roman Catholics who died in its vicinity: the visitor cannot fail being struck with the number of crosses and the profuseness of the Roman Catholic initials, R. I. P.

Weever, an antiquarian, speaks of a wonderfully ancient monument in the old church, erected in 1500, and, by tradition, said to belong to the family of Gray, of Gray's Inn. It is on the north wall of the church, of Purbeck marble, and has an elliptical arch, ornamented with quarte-foils, but no inscription or arms at present remain.

The same antiquary also mentions the family tomb of Robert Ive, clerk of the crown to King Henry VI., but there is no date to it. The family of Ive, however, are of great antiquity in this parish, for in the year 1458 King Henry granted leave to Thomas Ive to enclose a portion of the highway adjoining to his mansion at Kennistonne.

On the north of the chancel are the monuments of John Oxley and Thomas Doughty (1694), the latter the original owner of the estate in St. Pancras which takes his name.

On the east wall of the chancel is a monument erected to Daniel Clarke, Esq., who had been master cook to Queen Elizabeth, in 1626, and another on the south wall to Samuel Cooper, Esq., a celebrated painter. Cooper was born in London, in the year 1609, and brought up by his uncle Hofkins, a miniature painter of great eminence. He, however, soon excelled his master, and commencing to labour at his art on his own account, established a good connection among the nobility and gentry. His pencil has transmitted to us likenesses of the most celebrated statesmen, wits, and beauties of his age. A portrait of Oliver Cromwell is esteemed his *chef d'œuvre*. He seldom drew more than the head, or when he did was not so successful. His manner approached so near to that of Vandyke that he was called Vandyke in miniature, and his productions now fetch great prices all over Europe. Cooper was intimate with Butler, the author of "Hudibras," and he was related to the poet Pope.

The most striking monument in the church, perhaps, is that erected to Philadelphia, the wife of Thomas Wollaston, Esq., of London. The date is concealed, but it is of the last century, and the manner in which the lady met her death is affectingly denoted by her effigy, in veined marble, being recumbent upon a couch with an infant in her arms.

The following is a brief history of the more remarkable characters who lie entombed in the old churchyard :—

Mary Woolstonecraft Godwin.— Few writers have ever attained a larger share of temporary celebrity than Mrs. Godwin, but the calamities of her life miserably prove the impropriety of her doctrine. Over her ashes is a square monumental pillar, on one side of which is written the following inscription :—

“MARY WOOLSTONECRAFT GODWIN,
Author of
‘A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.’
Born April 27, 1759,
Died September 10, 1797.”

She was born in Epping Forest, and at an early age engaged herself in the occupation of teaching, for which by her talents she was eminently qualified. Unhappily, however, her sentiments on religious and other subjects were most exceptionable, and when very young she imbibed principles quite hostile to all the usages of society, and which the experience of ages has proved to be most conducive to the happiness of mankind. She soon gave up the employment of teaching, and took to her pen, startling society by her eloquence, wit, and her novel and dangerous views. One of her doctrines was the inutility of the marriage state; she held such a state to be quite unnecessary on principle, and acting upon it she connected herself with a Mr. Imlay, an American merchant, whom she met in Paris in 1792. This gentleman, however, deserted her, and she was so affected by it that she determined to destroy herself. She took a boat at Westminster and rowed up to Putney Bridge, from which she deliberately threw herself off in the month of October, 1795. She was, however, buoyed up by her clothes, and floated about 200 yards down the river, and her fall having been seen by some watermen, she was taken up and carried into a public house called the “Duke’s Head,” where she was recovered by medical assistance. The circumstance was commented upon by the newspapers of the

day, but it was not known till long afterwards, that the suicide, whose life had been saved, was the celebrated Mary Woolstonecraft. In the month of July, 1796, she took a house in Somers Town, and not long afterwards she formed a connexion with Mr. Godwin, author of “Caleb Williams.” Their sentiments were perfectly in unison. They both had a contempt for the rite of marriage, and it was only in consequence of her pregnancy, and the apprehension that she might be excluded from society, that she consented to enter that state. In 1797 Mr. and Mrs. Godwin took a house in the Polygon, Somers Town, where she died eleven days after having given birth to a child.

John Walker.—The monument erected to John Walker is of a very plain description, but the well-known worth of the occupant will prove more durable than anything that can be engraven on stone. It merely states,

“Here Lie the Remains
of

JOHN WALKER,
Author of the ‘Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language,’ of which he was for many years a very Distinguished Professor.
He closed a life devoted to piety and virtue on the 1st of August, 1805,
Aged 75.”

Besides his “Pronouncing Dictionary,” he wrote many other works of great value.

William Wollett, the celebrated engraver to King George III., lies buried in St. Pancras churchyard. His works are numerous, and are held in high estimation. A monument has been erected to his memory in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

Jeremy Collier, was buried in St. Pancras churchyard, April 29, 1726. He was educated at Cambridge. In 1685 he came up to London, and was soon after appointed lecturer at Gray’s Inn. On the eve of the Revolution, though a member of the Church of England, he attached himself to King James, and wrote the first pamphlet against the Prince of Orange. His antagonism to the new government caused him to be imprisoned twice, and his refusal to sign certain legal forms subjected him to an outlawry which continued to the day of his death. Soon after his release from imprisonment, he attacked the stage for its immorality, and so got engaged in a contest with most of the

distinguished wits of the age. He, however, came off victorious in the end, and was the means of checking the progress of that licentious style of writing which threatened to banish every friend to virtue and decorum from the theatre. At Queen Anne's accession he was earnestly solicited to conform to the new dynasty, and was offered considerable preferment, but he refused. He died on the 26th April, 1726, and was buried three days afterwards.

Abraham Langford, a celebrated auctioneer and dramatic writer of his day, has a tomb in St. Pancras churchyard, on both sides of which are the following lines :—

"His spring was such as should have been
Adroit and gay, unvexed by care or spleen,
His summer's manhood, open, fresh, and fair,
His virtues strict, his manners *debonnaire*.
His autumn rich with wisdom's goodly fruit,
Which every varied appetite might suit.
In polished circles dignified with ease,
And less desirous to be pleased than please.
Grave with the serious, comic with the gay.
True to the fond affections of the heart,
He played the friend, the husband's parent's
part.
What needs there more to eternise his fame ?
What monument more lasting than his
name ?"

There are also some very excellent lines on a tomb erected to the memory of a Mrs. Anne Cooper, who was interred in 1759. They were written by the lady's daughter :

"Ah, shade revered, this frail memorial take,
'Tis all, alas, thy sorrowing child can make ;
On this faint stone, to mark thy parent
worth,
And claim the spot that holds thy sainted
earth.

This clay-cold shrine, the corpse enshrouded
here,
This holy hillock, bath'd with many a tear ;
These kindred flames that o'er thy bosom
glow,
Fed by the precious dust that lies oelow.

E'en those rude branches that embrace thy
head
And the green sod that forms thy sacred
bed,
Are richer, dearer to this filial heart
Than all the monuments of proudest art.

Yet, yet a little, and thy child shall come,
To join a mother in this silent tomb :
This only spot of all the world is mine,
And soon my dust, sweet shade, shall mix
with thine."

Mrs. Isabella Mills, better known as Miss Burchell, a celebrated singer of the last century, lies buried in the churchyard. She long sustained her character as a musical artist, but withdrew from public life on the marriage of her second husband, who raised a monument, with the following inscription, to her memory :—

"In Memory of
MRS. ISABELLA MILLS,
Wife of H. Mills, Esq., of this Parish,
Who departed this life,
June 9, 1802,
Aged 67.

"And art thou then in awful silence here,
Whose voice so oft has charmed the public
ear ;
Who, with thy simple notes could strike the
heart
Beyond the utmost skill of labour'd art.
O, may the Power who gave thee dulcet
strain,
And, pitying, rescued thee from earthly
pain,
Exalt thy spirit, touch'd with hallowed fire,
To hymn his praise among the angelic
choir."

Count Hasling.—There is a monument to Count Hasling, a great favourite of George II. His inscription is as follows :—

"Here lie Deposited the Remains
of
COUNT HASLING,
Count of the Holy Roman Empire,
Hereditary Grand Master of Upper and Lower
Bavaria, and
Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of London,
From His Serene Highness
Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine,
Duke of Bavaria.
Having lived in the presence of every social
virtue, after a Christian preparation, he
resigned his soul into the hands of his
Creator, regretted by his sovereign and
lamented by all who knew him. May he
rest in peace."

His funeral was attended by the whole of the diplomatic corps of the day.

The Chevalier d'Eon.—The remains of the

unfortunate Chevalier d'Eon also lie in St. Pancras churchyard. This extraordinary and well-known character, whose story excited at the time so much curiosity, after having distinguished himself both as a soldier and a diplomatist, assumed the habit of a female, at the requisition of the French Court, and was appointed as such to a situation in the household of the Queen of France. This strange requisition arose in consequence of a doubt existing as to his sex, and it embittered the remainder of the poor man's days. He was first brought up as a male, and was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the British Court. About the year 1771 the doubts first arose concerning his sex. They appear to have been started in St. Petersburg, for when on a mission to that city from the Court of France he assumed the guise of a female for state purposes. The remarks made soon became the general topic of conversation, and immense sums were hazarded in the way of gambling and betting, and life policies were effected on the same. A remarkable trial took place, presided over by Lord Mansfield, concerning one of these policies, and the Chevalier was accused of being concerned in some of them in order to swindle the public out of their money. In consequence of these painful attacks, the Chevalier left England, first, however, asserting his innocence in an advertisement which he caused to be inserted in the *Morning Post* a few days before. The following is an extract:—

"London, Brewer Street, Golden Square,
November 11, 1775.

"The Chevalier d'Eon desires, with most earnest entreaty, the people of England who have hitherto testified their benevolence towards him, and have taken so great a part in his misfortunes, not to renew any policy on his sex. I publicly declare that I have refused with sovereign contempt all offers to become concerned in such policies, and if such persecution is not discontinued I shall have to quit a country I love as dearly as my own."

The unfortunate man quitted England, and on his arrival at the Court of France was compelled to assume the female dress, after an imprisonment of some weeks in the Castle of Dijon for refusing. He was again, however, compelled to return to England in consequence of the French Revolution, and for several years was struggling with poverty and destitution in this country, from which, he was occasionally relieved by the contribu-

tions of a few benevolent persons, to whom his unfortunate situation was known. For the last two years of his life he scarcely ever quitted his bed, and death at length brought his sufferings to a close on Monday, the 21st of May, 1810.

D'Eon was distinguished as a scholar, and was well acquainted with the ancient and most of the modern European languages; he possessed a valuable library, part of which he was compelled to sell for the relief of his necessities. As a soldier, his personal courage and knowledge of the military profession had been distinguished on many occasions. In religion he was a sincere Catholic, divested of all bigotry. There were peculiarities about his person which, no doubt, were the cause of all the remarks that were circulated respecting his sex. An unusual roundness about his limbs, no beard, and a very slender throat, were some of the characteristics; the arms, hands, and fingers were those of a stout female, and the legs and feet corresponded with the hands and arms.

Arthur O'Leary.—Amongst the distinguished Catholics who lie buried in St. Pancras churchyard is the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, who died the 8th October, 1802, aged 70. He was a native of Cork and educated at St. Omers. He was for some time chaplain to a French regiment, from which situation he was dismissed, because he objected to assist in enlisting the subjects of his own king into that of foreign service. After his return to Ireland, he rendered himself very conspicuous and useful by delivering various addresses to his countrymen, in which he controverted the doctrine of the Pope's temporal authority, and exhorted the Irish, in most troublesome times, to a peaceable demeanour. His exertions were attended with the most beneficial effects during the insurrection at Munster in 1787, and he is said to have been rewarded with a pension. O'Leary was many years resident in London as a priest of the Roman Catholic church in Soho Square, being highly esteemed for his amiable manners, and much admired for his eloquence in the pulpit. He died at his lodgings on the 8th of October, and he was buried in St. Pancras churchyard, where a monument is erected to his memory with the following inscription:—

"Sacred to the Memory
of the
REV. ARTHUR O'LEARY, O.F.S.,
A man eminently gifted by nature and
learning; he employed his talents in pro-

moting the glory of God and the good of every fellow-creature without distinction, for he prayed and wept and felt for all. Of him it may be truly said, that his life was the best comment on his writings: as the benevolence which they breathe, was enlivened and recommended by his example, even in the moment in which he was called to receive the reward of both. Obit, Jan. 8, A.D. Æt 70. This tomb was erected by order and at the expense of the Earl of Moira, a monument of his lordship's esteem for the virtues and talents of the late venerable Father O'Leary. 1804."

The Chevalier de St. Croix, died August 25, 1803, and was buried in St. Pancras churchyard. He was for some time Minister Plenipotentiary for the King of France in Sweden. After the seizure of Louis XIV., he fled to this country, where he became involved in much pecuniary distress, subsisting chiefly upon the bounty of some liberal friends.

Jean Francis de la Marche, Bishop of St. Pol de Leon in France, was another of those eminent characters who fled for refuge to this country during the Revolution. The above amiable Catholic prelate, whose name will always be ranked in the first class of those who have done good in their generation, was descended from an ancient family in Brittany. One of his first episcopal acts, was the founding of a seminary of learning at his own expense, and endowing it with funds sufficient for the salaries of professors and the repairs of the buildings. Besides this munificent foundation, the Bishop expended two-thirds of his income in various plans for the advantage of his diocese and the relief of the poor. The French revolution, however, deprived him of his diocese and drove him a fugitive to this country. After suffering many hardships he landed at Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, on the 3rd of November, 1791. He was not long in England before he set to work to administer to the necessities of his brethren who had sought shelter in great numbers upon our hospitable island, and all he could spare out of his own slender purse was devoted to that purpose. Upon the occasion of a great influx of the persecuted French clergy in the autumn of 1792, the Bishop of Leon drew up an address urging upon the emigrants to pursue a certain course while in this country. In proportion to the increasing calls upon him he became more and more indefatigable in his humane exer-

tions; he visited the sick, consoled the dejected, and devoted his whole time to the service of his poor wretched brethren, who consulted him upon all difficulties and looked upon him as a guardian angel sent by Providence for the alleviation of their sufferings. He printed a very animated address to the English nation, expressing his gratitude for the kindness shewn his countrymen. He was always treated by the British government with the greatest respect. The University of Oxford, having with much liberality printed a large edition of the New Testament in Latin for the use of the Catholic clergy, he sent a very elegant epistle of thanks in that language to the University, which was read in Convocation. He was particularly honoured by the friendship of the Duke of Portland and the Marquis of Buckingham, at whose seats he was a frequent guest. After spending a summer at Stowe in a state of great debility, he returned to his lodgings in Queen Street, Bloomsbury, where he died and was buried in St. Pancras churchyard on the 25th November, 1806. An elegant and appropriate epitaph, from the pen of the Marquis of Buckingham, is inscribed on a monument erected to his memory.

Pascal de Paoli, the celebrated Corsican, was a most shining character—the Garibaldi of his day. The Corsicans, uneasy under the yoke of the French, revolted, and young Paoli was placed at their head. After a long and, for a time, successful struggle, against their tyrants, they were at length obliged to submit, and the exiled Paoli sought an asylum in this land of freedom. He experienced, in an eminent degree, the esteem and support of the monarch and the people of England. He died on the 5th of February, 1807, and was buried in the churchyard, where there is a tomb and an inscription to his memory.

Within the recollection of many parishioners the old Church continued to be in an almost rural country. In 1820 a fine group of trees stood at the back of the churchyard, a high grass bank was situated on the opposite side of the Pancras Road, and on the spot now occupied by the model-lodging houses was a good-sized pond in which boys from town, on a summer's afternoon, indulged in the exercise of swimming. Before its recent renovation its exterior was exceedingly plain and simple. During the repair of the foundations some curious relics were discovered.

ANCIENT BENEFACTIONS TO THE POOR OF ST. PANCRAS.

ALTHOUGH St. Pancras has no rich ancient endowments, it has some noble modern institutions, such as the Almshouses, the Orphan Asylum, &c. There are a few ancient benefices, however, of small amount, which it may prove interesting to be made acquainted with.

In 1547, John Morant, Esq., gent., gave and bequeathed to the poor of St. Pancras, four acres of land, valued at 16s. per annum.

A benefactor, now unknown, gave a third part of the profits of three acres of land, near the Fortress Field, in the manor of Cantelows (now Fortress Terrace, Kentish Town) to the poor, the title to which is engraved on a brass plate in Barnet Church. In 1696 this third produced £2 10s. per annum; in 1810, £14, and now it produces about £50 per annum. When the lease runs out in the course of a few years it will produce a much larger sum.

There are twenty-three acres of land belonging to the parish church, given also by a person now unknown. These lands were

leased for a term of years by Sir Robert Payne and others. In 1811 they were rented at £120 per annum, and are now very valuable.

William Heron, Esq., of this parish, gave £8 a year to mend the highways.

John Miller, Esq., in 1583, gave a rent charge of £1 6s. 8d. on lands in Pancras to poor impotent people.

William Platt, Esq., in 1637, gave £10 per annum to the poor of Highgate, and £10 to the poor of Kentish Town.

Thomas Charles, Esq., in 1617, gave a rent of £1 4s. to buy bread for the poor. Thomas Cleeve, for the same purpose, gave, in 1634, the sum of £50, with which was purchased a rent charge of £2 16s. He also gave the like sum to the poor of St. Pancras living at Highgate, to be distributed in Highgate Chapel.

John Cremer, Esq., of Gray's Inn, left the sum of £2,000 to be distributed among 100 poor housekeepers of the parish who had been rated in the poor books. The distribution was made on the 14th of March, 1786.

The Old Lamb's Conduit.

"**L**AMB'S CONDUIT," says Edward Hatton, the Author of a "New View of London," published in 1707, "stands somewhat above the north end of Red Lion Street, Holborn, in the fields, and affords plenty of water, clear as crystal, which is chiefly used for drinking. The fountain head is under a stone marked S.P.P., in the vacant ground a little to the east of the new Ormond Street, and from whence the water is taken in a conduit in lead pipes to Snow Hill, where there is a temple with a figure of a Lamb on it, denoting that its waters come from Lamb's Conduit."

This celebrated conduit, which gave the name to the well-known street opposite the Foundling Hospital, was one of those sources which supplied the Londoners with water before the New River Company came into existence. It was erected for the use of the Londoners by a gentleman of the name of William Lamb, of whom, notwithstanding his munificence, but little of his history is known at the present day. The greatest of his gifts, however, and which are recorded by Stow, are the building of the above-mentioned conduit and the endowment of a chapel in the city, which was burnt down at the great fire of London. As we have said, a full account of the life of this public-spirited man is not now to be had, but what is known is recorded by Stow as follows:—

"William Lambe, for some time a gentleman of the chappelle of King Henry VIII., and afterwards a Citizen and Clothworker of London, was born in Kent. Neere unto Holborne he founded a faire Conduite and a standard with a cocke at Holborne Bridge, and the water was carried along in pipes of lead from the north fields more than two thousand yards, all at his own cost and charge, amounting to the sum of fifteene hundred pounds. These works were begun the six-and-twentieth day of August, 1577, and fully finished the 24th of August the same yeere. He gave also pails to one hundred and twenty poor women, wherewith to serve and carry this water as it ran out."*

From other sources we also glean that his profession was that of a chorister in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. He was a free brother of the Company of Clothworkers. At an early age he arrived at a state of great affluence, and at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. appears to have quitted his profession as a choir-singer, for his name does not occur in the chapel-establishment of his immediate successor. His wealth must have been derived from other sources than that of singing, for the salary of a chorister in those days was only 7d. per diem. It is supposed, however, that he got into the good graces of the capricious monarch through his voice, and obtaining a grant of land from him after the suppression of the monasteries, was raised by him from the rank of a gentleman to that of an esquire. He was thrice married, and was interred in the parish church of St. Faith under the old Cathedral of St. Paul. Of his numerous charities to the various hospitals there is abundant mention.

The head of this conduit stood, as we have observed, on Snow Hill. Its form was that of a square pillar, ten feet high, with Corinthian pillasters in the angles, and with a groined arch roof. The pipe from which the water flowed issued out of an aperture half way up the structure, and on the top stood the sculpture of a lamb with its head towards Holborn Hill, in honour of the founder's name. This fabric was suffered to remain some years after those of Cheapside, Aldermanbury, and other conduits were taken down. When, however, the New River Company commenced to supply the metropolis with water, the conduit pipes got neglected and stopped up, and it ceased to run to Snow Hill, though still useful to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the streets in the north of Holborn. The stone at the source of the conduit itself was taken down at the time of the erection of the Foundling Hospital, and the water caused to run a little more to the east,

down pipes and supplying each house separately with water, Londoners had no other resource than by fetching it from one of the conduits, or by paying mer. who made it their business to bring it from thence in pails.

* Before the method was adopted of laying

from whence, for a long time, the inhabitants had access. The supplies of the pumps in Mecklenberg and Brunswick Squares are derived from the springs which supplied the Lamb's Conduit. In the year 1800 the access to the water was by steps descending to the pipe whence it issued, and the following inscription was written on part of the conduit:—

“On this spot stood the Conduit

Commonly called and known

By the name of LAMB'S CONDUIT,

The property of the City of London ;

Which was rebuilt in the year MDCCXLVI.,

At the request of the Governor and Guardians

Of the Hospital for the Maintenance

And education of exposed and deserted

Young children,

In order to lay the way

And make the same more commodious ;

The waters thereof are still preserved,

And continued for the public emolument,

By building an arch over the same,

And this compartment is erected

To preserve the City's right and interest

In the said ground, water, and springs.

Lamb's Conduit, as well as most other conduits in the City and Westminster, was made to run with wine on occasions of public rejoicing, such as the marriage or coronation of a king or the birth of a prince, and this mode of exhilarating and pleasing the populace was easy to practice, and far less expensive than many would imagine, as the popular notion is that the efflux of wine was the same as that of the water, or at least the size of a stream issuing from our drinking fountains at the present day. But nothing of the sort ; a hogshead of wine was put in communication with the conduit and allowed to run out, and the aperture from which the people filled their vessels was never larger than that of a straw.

In addition to the conduit William Lamb built and endowed a chapel near Cripplegate, and gave it to the Clothworker's Company. He likewise left to their trust a sufficient sum to give every year certain apparel to twelve poor men and women. “To every one of the twelve men,” he says in his will, “a frieze gowne, one shirt of linen cloth, and a good strong pair of winter shoes. To the women likewise, a frieze gowne, a smocke, and a good pair of winter shoes, ready for the wearinge. Alwaies, be it remembered, that they be persons both poor and honest, to whom this charitable deede is to be extended, and this yearly done on the first of October.”

Four sermons are still preached to the

Clothworker's Company by their chaplain upon the four principal festivals of the year, viz., the Annunciation, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, and St. Thomas, on which occasion the Master, Wardens, and Livery of the Company go in their gowns in conformity with the will of William Lamb, to hear the preaching and to bestow alms.

From Sir William Dugdale's history of St. Paul's, we learn that this munificent citizen was buried in the church of St. Faith under that cathedral.* In the plan which he has given of that subterranean church he has pointed out the very place where Lamb was interred, and a pillar standing in his time, on which was affixed a plate of brass, with the following curious and original inscription, dictated by himself:—

WILLIAM LAMBE, so sometimes was my name,
Whiles I alive dyd runne my mortall race,
Serving a prince of most immortall fame,
Henry the VIII., who of his princely grace
In his chapell allowed me a place,
By whose favour, from Gentleman to Esquire,
I was preferred with worship for my hire.
With wives three I joynd wedlock band,
Which (all alive) true lovers were to me ;
Joanne, Alice, and Joanne, for so they came
to hande.

What needeth praise regarding their degree,
In wively truth none stedfast more could be ;
Who, though on earth death's force did once
dissever,

Heaven yet, I trust, shall joyn us altogether.
O Lambe of God ! which sinne didst take
away,

And as a Lambe was offered up for sinne,
When I (poor Lambe) went from thy flock
astray ;

Yet thou, Good Lord ! vouchsafe thy LAMBE
to win

Home to thy folde, and holde thy Lambe
therein ;

That at the day when Lambes and Gontes
shall sever,

Of thy choice lambes, LAMBE may be one for
ever.

I pray you all that receive bread and pence, †
To say the Lord's prayer before ye go hence.

* The Church of St. Faith served as a parish church for the Company of Stationers and others dwelling in Paternoster Row. It was in a vault under the choir of the Old Cathedral, somewhat like the subterraneous church which was assigned to the French Protestants in the vaults of Canterbury Cathedral, and which visitors may remember to have had shown them.

† Alluding to his gift to the Clothworker's Company

Upon the upper portion of the tomb was engraven as follows:—

“As I was, so are ye,
As I am, you shall be,

That I had, that I gave,
That I gave, that I have.
Thus I end all my cost,
That I left, that I lost.

The Foundling Hospital.

THE trustees of the Foundling Hospital own several pieces of land in St. Pancras on behalf of this noble charity. The following is a brief account of the origin and progress of this interesting institution:—

Addison, in one of his periodical essays in the *Guardian* (No. 105), says, “I will mention a species of charity which has not yet been excited amongst us, and which deserves our attention the more because it is practised by most of the nations amongst us. I mean a provision for foundlings, or for those children who, through want of such a provision, are exposed to the barbarity of cruel and unnatural parents. One does not know how to speak of such a subject without horror, but what multitudes of infants have been made away with by those who brought them into the world and were afterwards ashamed or unable to provide for them! There is scarce an assizes where some unhappy wretch is not executed for the murder of a child; and how many more of these monsters of inhumanity may we suppose to be wholly undiscovered or cleared for want of legal evidence.”

In consequence of this and similar appeals the matter at that time proceeded so far that various persons left by their wills sums for the support of the projected charity, but it was not until Captain Coram came upon the scene about ten years later, that the scheme assumed a tangible shape. This gentleman, who was the master of a vessel trading to the colonies, had his attention drawn, while frequently passing, in the pursuance of his occupation, to and fro between Rotherhithe and London, to the number of infants he frequently saw exposed in the streets, deserted and left to perish through the inclemency of the seasons. Coram accordingly took the matter in hand, and struggled for seventeen years to obtain the complete establishment of the Foundling Hospital. Never was philanthropist more indefatigable than Coram;

and, like other good men, his perseverance did not meet with the most courteous acknowledgment. A copy of Coram's memorial and petition to her Royal Highness Princess Amelia is deposited among the records of the Hospital, at the bottom of which Coram has written the following note:—

“N.B.—On Innocent's Day, the 28th of December, 1737, I went to St. James's Palace, to present this petition, having been first advised to address the Lady of the Bedchamber in Waiting to introduce it; but the Lady Isabella Finch, who was the Lady in Waiting, gave me very rough words, and bade me begone with my petition, which I did, without opportunity of presenting it.

“THOMAS CORAM.”

At last, however, he got a memorial signed by twenty-one ladies of quality, noblemen and gentlemen, and a charter was given by George II., on the 17th October, 1739, and a corporation was appointed, including John Duke of Bedford, several peers, the Master of the Rolls, the speaker of the House of Commons, the Attorney General, Solicitor General, and Captain Coram.

The Hospital was first opened at a house in Hatton Garden, on the 26th October, 1740. The day previous to the opening there appeared on the door the following notice:—

“To-morrow, at eight o'clock in the evening, this house will be opened for the reception of twenty children, under the following regulations:—No child exceeding the age of two months, will be taken in, nor such as have the evil, leprosy, or diseases of like nature. . . . The person who brings a child is to come at the outward door and ring a bell at the inward door, and not to go away until the child is returned or notice given of its reception; but no questions whatever will be asked of any person bringing a child, nor shall any servant of the

house presume to endeavour to discover who such person is on pain of being discharged. All persons who bring children are requested to affix on each child some particular writing, or other distinguishing mark or token, so that the children may be known if hereafter necessary."

The twenty children were accordingly taken in and immediately afterwards a notice appeared on the door, "*The house is full.*" It can be left to the imagination to picture the appearance of the street on that especial morning, the rushing, scrambling, and squeezing; in fact, disgraceful scenes used to take place in Hatton Garden amongst the mothers, who fought and struggled to get in the front, that they might obtain an entrance into the outward door, the successful being those who were the strongest, and it very often happened that in the *melée* a number of the infants got seriously injured. These melancholy and disgraceful scenes were subsequently got rid of by an ingenious balloting process, all the women being admitted into the court-room to draw balls from bags, those who drew black ones were immediately dismissed, those who drew white were entitled to an admission for their children, if eligible, whilst those who drew red might remain to draw once more amongst themselves for any vacancies left open by the ineligibility of the former class.

The establishment in Hatton Garden, however, soon outgrew itself. The clamorous demands for admission were overwhelming, and London was astonished at the number of foundlings which it called into existence. Fresh funds were solicited, and a large tract of ground, now called the Foundling Estate, was taken for the purpose of erecting a commodious and substantial building. The site selected was then a beautiful open country spot, and would be hardly recognisable at the present day, by the good old Captain Coram, were it possible that he could be recalled to life, built upon and surrounded as it is by tall and stately edifices.

In 1745 the western wing of the present Hospital was opened, and the house at Hatton Garden given up; the other two portions of the Hospital soon followed, and in 1747 the chapel was begun, and here, full of years and honours, was buried Coram, in 1751, the first person interred in that place. At his funeral the charter was borne before him on a velvet cushion, and the pall was supported by a number of distinguished personages.

In the chapel is an altar-piece by West, "Christ blessing little children," a beautiful

painting. The magnificent organ was the gift of Handel, who drew large audiences by performing his "Messiah" upon it, adding upwards of £10,000 to the funds of the institution. Not content with this munificent act on the part of the immortal composer, it is stated that the trustees of the Hospital petitioned Parliament to allow them to lay claim to the copyright of the "Messiah" for their own especial benefit. When Handel heard of this request, being entirely ignorant of the meaning of the application and yet annoyed at their assumption, he indignantly exclaimed "What de devil do you mean by sending my music to de Parlement!"

The great attraction in connection with the service at the chapel is the singing, which is very beautiful, professionals being engaged to render it with effect. The visitor is expected to drop a piece of silver in the plate upon entering. In the girls' dining-room is the famous picture of Captain Coram painted by Hogarth, and upon which he said he exercised more pains and patience than upon any of his other works.

The two most interesting apartments in the hospital are those devoted to the use of the secretary and the committee of management. In the secretary's room is "Elisha raising the child," also an immense sea-piece by Brookings, painted within the walls, landscape and portraits; but the gem of the place, and, indeed, of the entire collection, is Hogarth's "March to Finchley." The history of this work is curious. Among his other benefactions to the hospital Hogarth gave a number of unsold tickets connected with the disposal of the "March to Finchley," by lottery: one of the tickets obtained the prize.

The walls of the committee-room are magnificently decorated. The beautiful stucco ceiling, the marble chimney-piece, the verd antique table, with its magnificently carved support, and the glass above it, are respectively the gift of different artists. Rystrack gave the beautiful piece of sculpture over the mantel-piece; Hogarth, Hayman, Wills, and Highmore, contributed the four great pictures which occupy so large a portion of the walls; whilst Wilson, Gainsborough, and others of humbler name filled the eight small round compartments scattered between the more pretending works, representing different metropolitan hospitals. Of the four larger pictures Highmore's represents the "Angel of the Lord and Ishmael;" Well's, "Christ showing a child as the emblem of Heaven;" Hayman's, "The finding of Moses;" and Hogarth's "The adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter." It is in this room that the

committee sit every Wednesday and decide all applications for admission. It may be interesting to note, that from the rooms in the Foundling Hospital thus decorated by the hand of genius, the first idea of establishing the Royal Academy originated.

Shortly after the removal of the Hospital from Hatton Garden results anything but favourable to public morality arose from the system of management brought to bear on the charity. Such a number of calls were made for admission that the funds became exhausted, and application was made to Parliament for a grant, and £10,000 was allowed. The governors thereupon set to work to meet all demands made for admission, and that no trouble should be given to the parents a basket was hung at the gate and they were requested to ring a bell when they deposited their little burdens therein. The consequence was that in less than three years and eight months, the time this precious system lasted, nearly 15,000 infants were received in the Foundling Hospital; out of this number, however, as if to prove the frightful evil of such ill-judged management, they were only able to rear 4,000.

A correspondent in one of the papers of the day, wrote from a town 300 miles distant from London, the following letter in reference to the system which had sprung up of trafficking in the conveyance of foundlings from thence to the Foundling Hospital. It illustrates, no doubt, what was being carried on all over England:—

“There is set up in our corporation a new and uncommon trade, namely, the conveying of children to the Foundling Hospital, in London. The person employed in this traffic is a woman of notoriously bad character. She undertakes the carrying of these children at so much per head. She has, I am told, made one trip already, and, has now set upon her journey with two of her daughters, each with a child upon her back.”

From another quarter it was reported that the charge for carrying up children from Yorkshire to London, four in two panniers strung across a horse's back, was, for some, eight guineas a trip, but competition soon reduced this amount, and, to make it up, the carriers used literally to strip the little things naked, for the sake of the value of their clothing, and thus leave them in the basket at the Foundling gate.

The evil of this system was too glaring to last long. In 1769 a resolution was passed

declaring that the indiscriminate admission of all children under a certain age, into the Hospital, had been attended with many evil consequences, and that it be discontinued. The national funds contributed no less a sum than £549,796 to the expenses of this ill-judged experiment.

The governors of the charity, after this severe warning, proceeded with more caution; they restricted their exertions to the scope of their own funds; they endeavoured to reduce the evils which must belong to all such institutions to a minimum, and to raise the good they could accomplish to a maximum; yet it was not till 1801 that the most objectionable practice of taking children without inquiry, on the payment of £100, was formally abolished.

Of the present government of the Hospital little need be said. The system of management is nearly as perfect as it is possible to make it; the funds are more than amply sufficient, the receipts being in 1841 £11,000, and as all those large and valuable houses belonging to the charity, which surround it, are held on leases, the actual revenue in the course of a very few years will be at least £50,000. There are at present nearly 400 children in the hospital, so that the funds will soon admit of a great extension in their numbers.

In respect to the mode of admission at the present time, Mr. Wrottesley, commissioned by Government to inquire into the management of the various hospitals, thus writes:—“The most meritorious case would be one in which a young woman having no means of subsistence except those derived from her own labour, and having no opulent relations previously to committing the offence, bore an irreproachable character, but yielded to long-continued seduction and an express promise of marriage, whose delivery took place in secret, and whose shame was only known to one or two persons, and, lastly, whose employers, or other persons, were able or desirous to take her into service if enabled to gain her livelihood by the reception of the child,—this is considered the most eligible case.”

The children are baptised the day after their admission, and named; names of a general character are chosen. Immediately after baptism the infants are sent to one of the two stations in the country, East Peckham, in Kent, and Chertsey, in Surrey. The nurses who receive the children are in receipt of 3s. 6d. a week each, and a gratuity of 10s. 6d. at the end of the first year if the child appears to have been successfully

reared. The nurses and their husbands, generally poor cottagers, are not only called father and mother by the children, but they invariably fulfil their duties in a manner that not only leaves nothing to be desired, but that goes beyond all reasonable expectation; indeed, so strong is the attachment which generally grows up between nurse and child, that when the age is attained at which the latter is removed to London, the parting is often of a very distressing character.

When the time expires for the children to leave the Hospital, the boys are apprenticed to different trades, and, if required, premiums are given varying from £5 to £10. The girls are never entrusted to the care of un-

married men, nor to married men, except with the consent of their wives, nor to persons who only keep a single servant. Personal inspection and inquiry as to their conduct is kept up through the whole period of their apprenticeship, and more particularly with regard to the females. A pleasant custom has been introduced of giving to the gradually dissolving connection the right tone of feeling preparatory to its final dissolution. Once in every year takes place a meeting of the apprentices of the hospital, to mingle once more among their youthful associates and elder friends and guardians, on which occasion a gratuity is given to all who can present a certificate of good conduct from their employers.

St. Chad's Well.

THE spot now occupied by St. Chad's Row, near the Home and Colonial Schools, Gray's Inn Road, was formerly noted on account of its well, dedicated to St. Chad. The well-house still exists (1860), but will soon be numbered with the things of the past, the Metropolitan Railway Company being about to raze it to the ground. The following account of a visit by a gentleman, in 1825, taken from "Hone's Every-day Book," will be found interesting:—

"St. Chad died about the year 673. He was the founder of the see and bishopric of Litchfield. According to Bede, he died attended by angels; joyful melody, as of persons sweetly singing, descended from heaven to his oratory, for half an hour, and then mounted again to heaven, presaging his decease.

"St. Chad's Well, near Battle Bridge, takes its name from the above saint. The water was aperient, and in years gone by was purchased by crowds of invalids, who used to flock thither to drink it, the cost at first being 6d. a-head, but afterwards brought down to the low sum of one halfpenny per glass.

"If any one desire to visit this spot of eminent renown, let him descend from Holborn Bars to the very bottom of Gray's Inn Lane. On the left hand side formerly stood a considerable hill, whereupon were wont to climb and browse certain swine of the metropolis—

the hill was the largest heap of cinder dust in the neighbourhood of London. It was formed by the annual accumulation of some thousands of cartloads, and was afterwards exported in ship-loads to Russia for making bricks to rebuild Moscow after the conflagration of that capital by the entrance of Napoleon. Opposite this unsightly hill, and on the right hand side of the road is an angle-wise, faded inscription of

SAINT CHAD'S WELL.

It stands over an elderly pair of wooden gates, one whereof opens upon a scene which the unaccustomed eye may take for the pleasure-grounds of Giant Despair. Trees stand as if made not to vegetate; clipped hedges seem willing to decline, and weeds struggle weakly upon unlimited borders. If you look around, you see upon an octagonal board, 'Health preserved and restored.' Further on, towards the left, stands a low, old-fashioned comfortable-looking, large-windowed dwelling, and there also stands at the open-door an ancient female, in a black bonnet, a clean blue cotton gown and a checked apron. This is the 'Lady of the Well.' She gratuitously informs you that the gardens of St. Chad's Well are for exhibition by paying for the water, of which you may drink as much as you please for

one guinea per year, 9s. 6d. quarterly, 4s. 6d. monthly, or 1s. 6d. weekly. You qualify for a single visit by paying 6d., and a large glassful of warm water is handed to you. As a stranger you are told that St. Chad's Well was famous at one time, and should you be inquisitive the dame will tell you that 'things are not as they used to be in her time, and she can't tell what will happen next.' While drinking St. Chad's water you observe an immense copper into which is poured the water, and there heated to a due efficiency, from whence it is drawn by a tap into glasses and then retailed. You also remark hanging on the wall 'a tribute of gratitude' in verses, telling the visitor of a wonderful cure by using the invaluable waters. Above all, there is a full-length portrait of a stout, comely personage, with a ruddy countenance, in a scarlet cloak, a laced cravat falling down the breast, and a small red night-cap carelessly placed on the head, conveying the idea that it was painted for some opulent butcher of the reign of Queen Anne. Ask the dame about it, and she refers you to an old man who says he is ninety four this present year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, and all he has to communicate concerning it, is, 'I have heard say it is the portrait of St. Chad.'

"I was told that an old American loyalist, who has lived in Pentonville ever since the Rebellion forced him to the mother country, continually haunts the place. It was the first place of amusement he visited after his arrival, and he goes nowhere else, for everything is so altered. St Chad's Well is haunted, but not frequented. A few more years and it will be with its waters as with the waters of St. Pancras Wells, which are enclosed in the garden of a private house near old St. Pancras churchyard."

Such is a description of St. Chad's Well by a gentleman who paid it a visit in 1825. Many an "old inhabitant," who lived in the neighbourhood at that time, will doubtless remember much of what has been stated. The "few more years" have at length passed away, and St. Chad's Well is now a thing of bygone days, its "name" and "local habitation" being perpetuated by St. Chad's Row

Old Bagnigge Wells' Tea Gardens.

PART of the road now called "Bagnigge Wells Road," divides St. Pancras from the parish of Clerkenwell—its western side being in St. Pancras. It is part of the old and ancient highway leading from the city to High Barnet, and which Norden the historian, describes as "passing Pancras Church on the west, and Highgate on the north," running as it did into Maiden Lane, which is one of the oldest roads in the north of London. For some unknown reason the river Fleet in that neighbourhood was locally nicknamed the "River Bagnigge" and hence a well near at hand was called "Bagnigge Wells," and ultimately there arose Bagnigge House and Tea-gardens. The house originally called "Bagnigge House," is said in Bede's anecdotes, and with some appearance of probability, to have been a country residence of Nell Gwynne's, the celebrated mistress of Charles II., and in memory of its supposed proprietor the owner of some small property

near the north end of the gardens, styled them "Nell Gwynne's Buildings." At that time, however, the valley possessed beauties which have long since vanished; but perhaps the reader could picture to himself a beautiful country scene if he would fancy the rising slopes of Pentonville Hill, Penton Street, and Percy Street and Circus, and all the undulated surface in the immediate vicinity, to be covered with smooth verdure and delightful foliage, and the Fleet Brook to be a clear and wholesome stream, instead of a stinking underground ditch.

The house used to be tenanted by private tenants until the year 1757, when, in consequence of some mineral springs being discovered in its gardens, it was opened to the public. In fact, the medical qualities of the springs were first discovered by the occupant himself, who, finding the water from the well he had dug in his garden to have a curious effect upon some flower-beds in which he

took great delight, was led to inquire the cause, and by the assistance of a medical friend, he found that the water contained certain mineral qualities, which were then much in vogue. The gentleman took advantage of his discovery and opened the house to the public as a place for drinking waters with much success.

Though thus opened for the first time to the general public, Bagnigge House was undoubtedly used previous to this as an occasional resort of a public nature, for, on the north garden wall was an old stone taken from a Gothic portal that formed part of the ancient residence, and on the stone was the following inscription:—

T. T.
This is Bagnigge
House neare
The Pindar of Wakefield,
1660.

Such an inscription, we can scarcely suppose, could have been affixed to a private dwelling. The "Pindar of Wakefield" was then of even greater celebrity than Bagnigge House; indeed, it is perhaps the oldest established inn in the parish, dating as far back as 1577, and at that time the only house of entertainment between "Holborne and Highgate." "In the case above-mentioned," observes Malcolm, (the author of the "Manners and Customs of Ancient London") "it would seem as if the proprietor of Bagnigge House was concerned in the 'Pindar,' as he would scarcely have allowed a slab of stone to have

remained on the front of his house, pointing it out as a place well-known, unless he had some interest in it."

When Bagnigge House was first opened as a public Spa, it soon rose into notoriety as a tea-garden resort on the Sundays. The gardens were at first of considerable size, decorated in the old-fashioned manner, with walks in formal lines, a profusion of leaden statues, alcoves, and fountains, but being taken by a new tenant in 1813, they were considerably curtailed. In the sale that then took place, the catalogue described the fixtures and fittings up as comprising a temple, a grotto, arbours, boxes, large leaden pipes, pumps, shrubs, 200 drinking tables, 350 wooden seats, &c. The temple and grotto were purchased by the new proprietor, and remained as long as it continued a tea-garden. The former consisted of a roofed and circular kind of colonnade, formed by a double row of pillars and pilasters, with an interior ballustrade, a building something after the fashion of the water-temple at the Crystal Palace. In the Long Room was a fine-toned organ and a bust of Nell Gwynne in a circular border, composed of a variety of fruits, supposed to have alluded to her original occupation of selling fruit at the playhouse. These specimens of carved work were placed over a chimney-piece in the old mansion, and afterwards were put up in the assembly room by the proprietor of the tea-garden. Bagnigge Wells Tea-garden is now, however, a thing of the past. Like those of White Conduit and other places, all traces of rarity have disappeared, and its site is covered with bricks and mortar.

The Fleet Brook.

THE ancient Fleet Brook, which had its origin in the high grounds of Hampstead Heath, from whence it passed by Kentish Town, Camden Town, and the Old Church, was anciently denominated "Turnmill Brook," also the "River of Wells." Some years ago, on making the excavation necessary for arching over the Brook, at Battle Bridge, an anchor was found, from which it is inferred that vessels must have originally passed from the Thames down to that place. Stow, the historian, in his survey of London, says, "that the Fleet Brook was clear and sweet as far down as Old Borne (Holborn) Bridge." It did not long remain so, however, for in the year 1290, the monks of Whitefriars complained to Parliament of its putrid exhalations overcoming the frankincense burnt at their altar during the hours of divine service, and at a Parliament, held in 1307, Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, complained "that whereas in times past, the River Fleet had been of such depth and breadth that ten or twelve ships, with merchandise were wont to come to the Fleet Bridge and some of them to Old Borne Bridge, now, the same course, by the filth of the tanners, and such others, and by the raising of wharfs, is stopped up." Subsequent to this the stream was frequently cleansed, and in the year 1502 the whole course of the Fleet Dyke, as it was then called, was scoured down to the Thames, so that boats, laden with fish and fuel, were rowed to Fleet Bridge and Holborn Bridge, as was their wont. In 1670 it was again cleansed, enlarged, and deepened sufficiently to admit of barges as far as Holborn Bridge, when the water was five feet deep at its lowest tides, and twenty-three at the fullest. So convenient, however, was the river as a receptacle for filth to the inhabitants, that the expense of keeping it clear became very burdensome, and in the year 1734 it was ordered to be arched over as far as Farringdon Street by an act of Parliament, and thus became extinct as a navigable river.

Not many years since, however, its stream was sufficiently powerful to give motion to

some flour and flattening mills in Clerkenwell, and in the winter time it frequently overflowed its banks and laid the fields in the neighbourhood of Battle Bridge and King's Cross entirely under water. A local historian, who lived in Somers Town in 1812, says: "Such is the increase of water in the channel of the Fleete, after long-continued rains, or a sudden thaw with much snow on the ground, by reason of the great influx from the adjacent hills, that sometimes from this place (Battle Bridge), it overflows its bounds, breaks up the bridges, and inundates the surrounding neighbourhood to a considerable extent. Several years ago an inundation of this kind took place, when several drowned cattle, butts of beer, and other heavy articles were carried down the stream from the premises on its banks, in which the flood had entered and made great devastation. But the most considerable overflow that has happened within the memory of many now living, occurred in January, 1809. At this period, when the snow was lying very deep, a rapid thaw came on, and the arches not affording a sufficient passage for the increased current, the whole space between Old Pancras Church, Somers Town, and the bottom of the hill at Pentonville was in a short time covered with water. The flood rose to the height of three feet from the middle of the highway; the lower rooms of all the houses within that space were completely inundated, and the inhabitants suffered considerable damage in their goods and furniture, which many of them had not time to remove. For several days persons were obliged to be conveyed to and from their houses, and receive their provisions, &c., in at their windows, by means of carts." At this period (1809), the country north of King's Cross was very open, there being few houses of entertainment beyond the Old Church beside the "Red Cap," at Camden Town; the Fleet Brook was also open as far down as Farringdon Street, and when the Hampstead and Highgate hills were covered with snow, the melting of such a large tract considerably increased the usual flow of the stream, and often caused an inundation.

Many an old inhabitant of St. Pancras remembers the Fleet Brook when it openly flowed by the side of the Old Church, passed under the little bridge at King's Cross, and continued its way along the hollow which now forms the Bagnigge Wells' Road, and one can easily imagine what a sweet scene must have been presented in the valley formed by the rising grounds on either side, Pentonville Hill, its highest ridge on the one side and the gentle undulating slope from Gray's Inn Lane, on the other.

It will be found interesting to note the condition of London and its suburbs in the time of the Romans, and the gradual conversion of those little streams like the Fleet which once watered the capital, into common sewers. During the Roman era, London was, as it now is, the principal commercial town in Britain. The site whereon was situated the great Roman highway of London now called Watling Street (a name it still bears) was a continuation of the great Roman high-road from Dover, and the vast quantities of mosaic pavement that have been found in its vicinity lead us to conclude that it was paved with that material; and on the areas upon which the Cathedral of St. Paul and Westminster Abbey now stand, temples to the goddess Diana and the god Apollo, it is supposed, were erected, those same spots having thus been dedicated to sacred purposes, both in heathen and Christian religion, from the earliest known period of our history. Nor were those the only sites on which objects of a similar character still continue to occupy the place they were originally used for, it being almost certain that the Romans were in possession of a bridge that crossed the Thames at the point where the present London Bridge now stands; for, on dredging and laying the foundation of the piers of the new bridge, bronze figures, ornaments, and innumerable articles of every description, were found right across the bed of the river. The Romans, too, erected magnificent embankments, which are still in existence, on both sides of the river, in order to prevent the high tide from overflowing the land, extending, on the north side of the Thames, from Wapping along the whole of the marshy Essex coast; and, on the south, from Lambeth downwards—Bank side, Southwark, being the only spot, perhaps, which now bears a name relative to that great work of the Romans.

The exquisite specimens of ware which abound in our museums, and in the cabinets of antiquaries, show to what a degree of excellence the Romans had arrived in potter's work—vases, bowls, pipes, pipkins, tessalated

pavement, tiles, and domestic utensils of all kinds, were all subjects of their art in clay. Pottery, however, was only one of the branches of industry in which the Roman Londoners excelled, for the specimens of locks, bells, coin-moulds, spoons, and even scissors, that have been exhumed, show that they were not deficient in the manufacture of cutlery and hardware; while the innumerable articles, both of use and ornament, which they fashioned out of bronze, acquaint us of the esteem in which that metal was held by them. It is exceedingly to be regretted that some of the more substantial works of the Romans should not have been spared to be handed down to us as eye-seeing evidences of their dwellings in our ancient city; but, after the Romans had departed, much of the impression they had left was effaced in the devastating wars and the ruthless incursions of the Scots that followed their departure; and when that was succeeded by the invasion of the Saxons, a people almost as barbarous and uncivilized as themselves before Roman rule, it is not to be wondered at that but few memorials have escaped complete destruction, especially as they made use of the materials of the Roman temples and houses to build up their own.

Roman London, too, it appears, was not without its cemeteries, and these, it is conjectured, from the large number of sarcophagi and other emblems of the dead that from time to time have been discovered, were situated near Smithfield—probably where St. Sepulchre's Church now stands—and in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields. Walbrook now occupies the site of a little stream which ran down a gentle declivity into the parent river, dividing, in its course, the boundary of the gardens belonging to the houses that were arranged on either side; Cornhill, also, was a pleasant acclivity, on whose eminence ran another little brook called the Fen (hence Fenchurch Street), and whenever the ground in these localities is disturbed, there is always sure to be found a quantity of pottery, some of beautiful design and workmanship; which circumstance leads us to infer that the Roman works for the manufacture of such articles must have been in this neighbourhood. The small but important articles which have been saved to us only by being buried in the ground, reveal sufficient facts to prove the taste and refinement that characterised a wealthy London citizen in the days of the Romans.

The Romans, too, perfectly understood the luxury of possessing well-kept thoroughfares, and the great high roads which communicated with London were made so en-

durable and solid, that large bodies of infantry and cavalry could, in all weathers and seasons, be easily moved from one part of the country to the other. In every instance, the distance from station to station was indicated by numerals on Roman milestones, and of these the famous London Stone, still to be seen leaning against the south wall of St. Swithin's, in Cannon Street, is supposed to have been the first, or that from which the others were numbered.

The private dwellings of the Romans were in consonance with their public works; for magnificent villas studded the banks of the beautiful Fleet Brook, and its meanderings through the sylvan valleys formed by Snow Hill (famous for its snow drops), Saffron Hill, Clerkenwell, and the undulating ground in the neighbourhood of those places, must have afforded many a lovely scene to the eye of the citizen. Clear as crystal did it wander from its source in the then distant Highgate Hills, watering many a pleasant glade, and giving birth to swarms of silver trout and other fish, till it fell into the equally clear Thames.

From the time of William the Conqueror to the reign of Edward I., the Fleet was called the "River of Wells," in consequence of the great number of springs which were found on either side of its course, and which have since given names to so many localities in its neighbourhood. Thus, those curious in local topography know that St. Chad's Row is named from "St. Chad's Well." Then, there was "Amwell," hence Amwell Street; "Clerk's Well," hence Clerkenwell; St. Pancras Wells, situate in the Old St. Pancras Road; Bagnigge Wells, &c.

As London extended, the Fleet Brook gradually became polluted by the gullies constructed on its east side, which emptied their contents into its stream. It was navigable for barges and boats for many hundred years as far as Farringdon Street, where a bridge (hence, Holborn Bridge) was constructed for the convenience of passengers, though at many places it was fordable when the tide had run out. It still continued clear, however, a short distance from town, and as it flowed through Bagnigge Wells, Old St. Pancras, and Highgate, afforded pleasant contemplation and delight to many a citizen. During the period of heavy rains its banks would swell to a very great height, and its depth at Holborn Bridge has been known to rise upwards of nine feet, inundating the low-lying districts at the bottom of Saffron Hill and Clerkenwell.

During the time of the early Georges the

greater part of its course presented nothing but the aspect of a filthy sewer, and was a constant source of disease and ill health to the thick population through which it ran. Many a dark tragedy, too, was perpetrated in its waters during those lawless and licentious times. There was not, probably, a blacker community on the face of the civilized world than existed upon the banks of the Fleet Sewer in the eighteenth century. Field Lane, Saffron Hill, and Cow Cross was one large fester-spot of poverty and crime. It was the resort of the robber, the assassin, the pickpocket, and the prostitute. Some of the houses overhung the rushing sewer, and their floors had trap doors, through which the unsuspecting victim suddenly sank into the water. Jonathan Wild, Jack Sheppard, and other notorious criminals here committed many of their robberies, and on the occasion of the razing of the lanes and alleys in order that the new Victoria Street might be constructed, several articles were found in a house those criminals were known to have frequented, and which were supposed to have belonged to them. Strangers were lured into the neighbourhood by promises of cheap bargains, and if in the apparent possession of any wealth or valuables, were requested to enter the shop, and thence conducted to the back premises, where they were robbed and murdered. Their bodies were afterwards consigned to the rushing Fleet, which carried them into the Thames, and there they floated up and down with the tide; and if by chance any boatman happened to descry the floating body, it was taken ashore, buried by the parish, and returned as found drowned. Many a murdered man has the dark and rushing waters of the Fleet carried down into the Thames, whom no effort on the part of friends could ever discover, and whose end will only be brought to light on that Great Day when all wicked deeds shall be revealed.

The following anecdote is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1836:—"On the 24th of August a remarkably fat boar was taken up on coming out of the Fleet Ditch at low tide into the Thames; it proved to belong to a butcher near Smithfield Bars, who had missed him for five months, all of which time it appears he had been in the common sewer, and was improved in price from ten shillings to two guineas."

Much, however, as we may lament the metamorphosis of a clear running stream into a filthy sewer, the Fleet Brook does the Londoner good service. It affords the head of natural drainage for a large extent north of the metropolis, and its level is so situated

as to render it capable of carrying off the contents of a vast number of side drains which run into it. It is now nearly all covered in, but there still exists in its native state, a few yards in our parish. At the back of the Grove, in the Kentish Town Road, a running rill of water, one of the little arms of the Fleet, is yet clear and untainted, and continues so till it empties itself into the parent brook. Another arm, which joined the Fleet near Dr. Orange's garden,

may be seen on the east side of the Kentish Town Road, at the bottom of the field at the back of the "Bull and Last Inn." We are not sure, whether its communication with the Fleet is not now cut off, but it once belonged to that river, and as we lean over the paling of the little wooden bridge and listen to the soft trickling of the running water, we picture to our minds the time when it could have been followed, clear and stainless, into the equally clear and stainless Thames.

The "Adam and Eve."

AMONG the many places of entertainment and resort with which the suburbs of London abounded during the last century, the "Adam and Eve" Tea Gardens at the corner of the Hampstead Road ranked amongst the foremost. The "Adam and Eve" is supposed, to stand upon the site of the old Manor House of Tottenham or Tottenham Court. Contiguous to the inn, and near to the reservoir in the Hampstead Road, there formerly stood an ancient house, called in various old records "King John's Palace." Whether King John ever resided there or no, it is now impossible to ascertain; all we have for its authority is tradition, but that the old manor house of Tottenham was once called a palace is pretty evident, and the fact that there is a place in the Euston Road called "Palace Row" supports the tradition that the house was generally known by that name.

In the year 1800, when the northern end of Tottenham Court Road from Whitfield Chapel was lined on either side with the hawthorn edge, the "Adam and Eve" tea-gardens were the constant resort of thousands of Londoners. It then had spacious gardens at the rear and at the sides, and a fore-court, with large elm-trees, and tables and benches for out-door customers, who preferred to smoke their pipes and enjoy the fresh air from Marylebone Park in front of the road. Inside the gardens were fruit trees and bowers, and arbours, with every accommodation for tea-drinking parties. At that period, there was only one conveyance a day between Paddington and the city. This conveyance was called the "Paddington Drag," and stopped to take up passengers at the "Adam and Eve," whose doors it passed by twice a

day. It was driven by its proprietor, performing the journey in two hours and-a-half *quick time*, returning to Paddington in the evening within three hours from its leaving the City, which was deemed *fair time* considering the necessity for precaution against the accidents of "night travelling!"

The following interesting letter appeared in the *Year Book of Facts*, edited by Mr. Hone, from an old parishioner, who appears to have been well-acquainted with the "Adam and Eve," together with the condition of the surrounding neighbourhood during the latter half of the past century. After referring to some notice that had been made of the "Adam and Eve" by the editor, he says:—

"MR. EDITOR,—It may also be recollected that the "Paddington Drag," the tedious process of which you have so correctly described, made its way to the City from Paddington down the defile called Gray's Inn Lane, and gave the passengers an opportunity for shopping by waiting one hour at the "Blue Post," Holborn Bars. The route to the Bank by the way of the City Road was then a thing unthought of, and the Hampstead coachman who first achieved that daring feat was regarded with an admiration somewhat akin to that bestowed on him who first doubled the cape in search of a passage to India.

"The spot near the 'Adam and Eve,' I recollect well as a rural suburb. It is now surrounded on every side with houses and streets, but was once numbered among the common walks of a Cockney's Sunday strolc. George Wither, in his "Britannia Remembrancer," 1628, has this passage:—

" 'Some by the banks of Thames their pleasure taking :

Some sillububs among the milkmaids making ;
With music some, upon the waters rowing ;
Some to the next adjoining hamlets going,
And Hogsden, Islington, and *Tothnam-Court*,

For cakes and creame had then no small resorte.'

" In the same poem the following lines occur :—

" 'Those who did never travel, till of late
Half way to *Pancridge* from the city-gate.'

" Broome, in his '*New Academy*,' 1658, Act. 2, has this passage :—

" 'When shall we walk to *Tothnam Court*; or
Crosse o'er the water; or take a coach to
Kensington;
Or *Paddington*, or to some one or other
Of the city outleaps, for an afternoon?'

" In Act 3 of the same play, it says :—

" 'He's one
Of the four famous parties of the time;
None of the crems and cake boyes; nor of
those
That gall their hands with stool-balls, or their
cat-ticks,
For white-pots, pudding-pies, stewed prunes,
or tansies,
To feast their titts at *Islington* or *Hogsden*.'"

The "Adam and Eve" was also celebrated on account of its cream-cakes, which were then a delicacy much in vogue among rural excursionists to the outskirts of the metropolis. Another writer to the same book upon the same subject, writes the following interesting communication to the editor :—

"SIR,—Your brief notice of the '*Adam and Eve*' has awakened many pleasant recollections of a suburb which was the frequent haunt of my boyish days, and the scene of the happiest hours of my existence at a more mature age. Few places afford more scope for pleasant writing than the northern suburbs of London, for not many places have undergone within the space of a few years, a more entire, and to me, a scarcely pleasing, mutation. I am almost afraid to own that Old Marylebone Park holds a dearer place in my affections than its more splendid but less rural successor.* When,

* The Regent's Park.

too, I remember the lowly but picturesque old '*Queen's Head and Artichoke*,' with its long skittle and '*bumble-puppy*' grounds, and the '*Jew's Harp*,' with its bowery tea-gardens, I have little pleasure in the sight of the gin-shop looking places which now bear the name. Neither does the new hay market* compensate me for the fields in which I made my earliest studies of cattle, and once received from the sculpture, Nollekens, an approving word and pat on the head, as he returned from his customary morning walk.

"Coming more eastward, I remember the long fields with regret, and Somers Town, isolated and rural as it was when I first haunted it, is now little better than another arm to the great Briareus, dingy with smoke and deprived almost wholly of the gardens and fields which once seemed to render it to me a terrestrial paradise. The Hampstead Road, and the once beautiful fields leading to and surrounding Chalk Farm, have not escaped the profanation of the builders' handicraft, and Hampstead itself, 'the region of all suburban ruralities,' has had a vital blow aimed at its noble Heath and charming Vale of Health. True the intended sacrilege was not effected, but was it not to be dreaded from the senseless and insane partiality of its tasteless and truly senseless landlord—senseless, because he cannot see that the attainment of his object would defeat, instead of further, his avaricious views by rendering the buildings almost wholly valueless. One might almost as reasonably deprive Ramsgate of the sea or Leamington of its Spa. Hampstead, besides, affords many delightful subjects for pictorial illustrations.

"The residences of men remarkable for talent might also be pointed out. Somers Town, for example, is full of artists, as a reference to the Royal Academy catalogue will evince. In Clarendon Square still lives, I believe, Scriven, the engraver, an artist of great ability, and in his day, of much consideration. In the same neighbourhood dwells the venerable Dr. Wilde, who may justly be termed the best engraver of his age for upwards of half a century. From his pencil came the whole of the portraits illustrating Bell's edition of the English theatre, a series of which the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, in his '*Library Companion*,' has spoken of as 'admirably executed, and as making the eyes sparkle and the heart dance of a dramatic virtuoso.' Not an actor, I believe, of any note, during the full period above-mentioned,

* Cumberland Market.

can be named, from whose lineaments the theatrical world is not indebted to the faithful and skilful hand of Dr. Wilde.

"Your paper led me to a chat with a dear and venerable connection of my own, who remembers when the New Road was not, and when the last house of Tottenham Court Road was the public-house at the corner by Whitfield's Chapel. I myself remember the destruction of a tree which once shadowed the skittle-ground and road-side of the same house. It was cut down and converted into fire-wood by a man who kept a coal-shed hard by. My relation above referred to, also remembers when Rathbone Place terminated at the corner of Percy Street; when the windmill, which gave its cognomen to the street of that name, still maintained its position, and when large soil-pits occupied the site where Charlotte Street and its neighbouring thoroughfares, now stand. A fact which he relates connected with this spot may be worth repeating. A poor creature, a sailor, I believe, was found dead and denied burial by the parish, on the ground, I suppose, of a want of legal settlement. The body was placed in a coffin and carried about the streets in that condition by persons who solicited alms to defray the expenses of the

funeral. Something considerable is supposed thus to have been collected; but after they had obtained as much as they could they threw the body, coffin and all, into one of these soil-pits. In the course of time the corpse of course floated and the atrocity was discovered, but the perpetrators were not to be found. My informant saw the procession himself, and subsequently the fragments of the coffin lying on the surface of the water. I will only add that he recollects seeing Sixteen-String Jack taken to Tyburn, and also going to see the celebrated Ned Shuter at a low pot-house in St. Giles' at six in the morning, and where, upon quitting the theatre, he had adjourned to exhibit his extraordinary powers to a motley crew of midnight revellers, consisting of highwaymen carmen, sweeps, *et id genus omne*.

"Yours respectfully.

"T. F."

The "Adam and Eve," like other old "suburban" houses of entertainment, is now far away from the fields. It used to include the baker's shop at the corner of the Hampstead Road, over which was inscribed "The Adam and Eve," and a sign on the top-corner of the old house had the same inscription.

Battle Bridge.

MAIDEN LANE, AND EUSTON ROAD.

BATTLE BRIDGE is one of the most classic spots in the vicinity of London, it having been the scene of a remarkable event which happened in the early history of our country, and the authorities have not improved its appellation by altering it to that of Pentonville Road and King's Cross. It is said that Julius Cæsar, with Mark Antony and Cicero, encamped upon this spot for two succeeding years. That, however, is much to be doubted; but it is tolerably certain, that in the immediate neighbourhood of Battle Bridge there was fought the battle, so fearful in its results, of which Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, was the heroine. The occasion of it was the following: The Queen had placed her self at the head of that portion of her countrymen who resolved to throw off the Roman bondage.

She urged the Britons, in the absence of the Roman General Paulinus, to put all the foreigners to death. Excited by the exhortations and complaints of this warlike Queen the Britons fell upon the Romans throughout the various colonies they had founded, killing every one they came in contact with, without the least distinction of age or sex. Indeed, they carried their revenge to a shocking extent, inventing tortures and punishments of the most barbarous description; wives were hung with children sucking at their bosoms; virgins had their breasts cut off and crammed into their mouths, and many were impaled to the ground alive, and left to die a lingering death. A great number of the old Roman soldiers, unfit for service, but who were pensioned off with plots of land in Britain, were burnt in a temple they had

retired to near Colchester. Nothing escaped the fury of the Britons, and it is computed 80,000 persons were immolated on the altar of revenge. The British army was now increased to 100,000 men, commanded by Bœdicca in person, and was gathering fresh power and augmenting its resources every day, when Paulinus, the Roman general, heard the news of the rebellion. He immediately quitted Anglesey, whither he had gone to exterminate the Druids, and marched with the greatest celerity to London, intending to visit the rebels with condign punishment.

On his arrival near London, he found Bœdicca and her army posted near or about the spot known as Battle Bridge, and there a terrible battle ensued, in which nearly the whole of the British army was slain, and Bœdicca herself taken prisoner. Several relics have at various times been found in the neighbourhood upon making excavations, which support the testimony of historical tradition upon this point. Beside this important battle, it is stated that an engagement took place between King Alfred and the Danes upon the same spot. The spot is also associated with other reminiscences. Cromwell had an observatory situated at King's Cross. The original Roman road to the north commenced here. Some years ago a dumpy miserable statue of George IV. stood upon the spot, and its appropriate historical name of Battle Bridge was changed to King's Cross in compliment to the said ugly statue. In 1842 it was taken down and a lamp now occupies its site.

MAIDEN LANE.

THOUGH not strictly in the parish of St. Pancras, the above highway forms its easternmost boundary, and was partly under its jurisdiction in former times. It is one of the most ancient roads in the north of London. The historian Camden, says, "it was opened to the public in the year 1300, and was then the principal road for all travellers proceeding to Highgate and the north." It was formerly called "Longwich Lane," and was generally kept in such a dirty, disreputable state as to be almost impassable in winter, and was so often complained of that the Bishop of London was induced to lay out a new road from the top of Hampstead Heath to Highgate Hill, so that a carrier coming from the west country might get to the north by avoiding Longwich Lane.

Norden, in his work called the "Speculum

Britanniæ," says, "The old and ancient highway to Highe Barnet, from Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell, was through a lane to the east of Pancras Church, called Longwich Lane, from whence, leaving Highgate on the west, it passed through Tallington Lane (the old road over the archway) and so on to Crouche Ende, thence through Hornsey Greate Parke to Muswell Hill, Coanie Hatche, Fryene Barnete, and so on to Whetstone. This ancient waye, by reason of the deepness and dirtiness of the passage in the winter season, was refused of wayfaring men, carriers, and travellers, in regarde whereof it is agreed between the Bishop of London and the countrie, that a new waye shall be laide forthe through Bishop's Parke, beginning at Highgate Hill, to leade directe to Whetstone, for which a certain tole should be paid to the Bishop, and for that purpose has a gate been erected on the hill, that through the same all travellers should pass, and be the more aptly staide for the same tole." This new road, however, was convenient only to those who passed to the north through Hampstead, and numerous accidents and inconveniences attendant on the continued bad state of Maiden Lane, caused many complaints, and in the *Public Advertiser* of August 5, 1770, a letter recommended that a road, commencing from the "Bull," in Kentish Town should be made to run eastward, avoiding the hill.

In 1778 a dispute arose between Islington and St. Pancras as to which parish should bear the expenses of the repairing of the road, which gave rise to legal proceedings. On the 11th of May, 1791, an indictment was laid against the parish of Islington by St. Pancras for the non-repair of the road. It appeared that a boundary-stone belonging to Islington had been incautiously removed from the south-side of the lane to the west, thereby including the whole of the road within that parish; after which St. Pancras refused to bear any more expense. Islington contended that it was a party-road, and urged the fact that the plan of the manor of St. John of Jerusalem extended only to the centre of the lane, which manor defined the boundary of Islington: evidence was also brought forward from the records of the Manor of Cantelews, and from the Chapter House of St. Paul's. Notwithstanding all this evidence, however, it was decided that Maiden Lane belonged to Islington, and though they appealed against such a decision, it was confirmed by the King's Bench, and has ever since been under their jurisdiction.

THE EUSTON ROAD.

THE above road (lately called the New Road), and along which so vast an amount of merchandise and traffic pass daily, is scarcely a century old, and was, in the year 1750, part of an expanse of verdant fields. It was made by virtue of an act of Parliament passed in the reign of George II. (1756), after a most violent contest with the Duke of Bedford, who opposed its construction on the ground of its approaching too near to Bedford House—the duke's town mansion. The Duke of Grafton, on the other hand, supported it with all his power, and after a fierce legal battle it was ultimately decided that it should be formed.

A clause in the act prohibited the erection of buildings within fifty feet of the road, and empowered the authorities of parishes through which it passed, to pull down any such erection, and levy the expenses on the offending goods and chattels, without proceeding in the usual way, by indictment. The effect of such resolution was the laying out of gardens before the houses, though the law appears to be now set aside, shops being continually brought out to the footway. The following are a few extracts from the daily papers of the period, showing the great interest taken by the public at the time of its progress :—

March, 1750—"The intended new road through St. Pancras from Paddington to Islington, would meet with no sort of objection, provided the owners of certain lands would consent to a clause against building ; but as that don't appear to be their intention, it is doubted whether the bill will pass upon the present plan."

May 8, 1752.—"On Wednesday next a board of the trustees for the great new road, will be held, and the next day men are to work on it. It is computed the charge for making it will amount to £8,000."

Sept. 13, 1756.—"It is with pleasure we can assure the public that great numbers of coaches, carriages, and horsemen pass daily over the New Road from Islington to Battle Bridge, and that the surveyors are hard at work in fencing and marking out the road across the fields from Battle Bridge to Tottenham Court Road."

Sept. 17, 1756.—"The tracts and fences of the lands between Battle Bridge and Tottenham Court Road were levelled on Friday last, so that the New Road across the fields to Paddington, and the grand communication between the great eastern, western, and northern roads, are now open to the public at large."

Sept. 22, 1756.—"A scheme, we hear, is already concerted to build no less than forty new streets contiguous to different parts of the New Road. The road is said to bid fair to be an expensive one, 100,000 cartloads of gravel being thought to be rather under than over the mark for completing it."

Such are a few extracts from the daily papers during the construction of the Euston Road. Its subsequent history is well-known. After being macadamised, it was paved with wood, after that at a great expense, with granite cubes. It is now being torn up by the Metropolitan Railway Company, which great undertaking will form the subject of future history.

The "Boarded House."

IN the year 1748 a man named Daniel French opened an amphitheatre in Tottenham Court Road for the exhibition of prize fighting. In this place the renowned James Figg used to display his science to multitudes of the pugilistic fraternity. Far more noted however, was a place called the "Boarded House," of which Figg was the proprietor, and which was situated in Marylebone Fields. At the death of Figg another house, or amphitheatre, was erected at the back of the "Boarded House" by Broughton, (who became no less celebrated as a prize-fighter,) and which likewise became noted as a place for the exhibition of pugilism. A short account of the characters frequenting, and amusements provided at these houses, will give an idea of the manner in which many of the inhabitants of St. Pancras and Marylebone used to spend their hours of "recreation" a century ago.

Foremost amongst the prizefighters of his time was the celebrated James Figg. He was a great favourite amongst the aristocracy who extensively patronised the ring. A poem of Dr. Bryson's, describing a famous combat between Figg and Sutch, begins :—

"Long-live the great Figg, by the prize-fighting swains

Sole monarch acknowledged of Marylebone plains."

Figg, who long bore the palm of victory from all competitors, was the acknowledged champion of England, and was extolled by Captain Godfrey in his treatise on the "Science of Defence," as the greatest master of the art he had ever seen. He called him the "Atlas of the sword," and said "that he united strength, resolution, and unparalleled judgment."

The amphitheatres in which prize-fights used to take place were the favourite resort of a large body of the people; especially so was Figg's "Boarded House" situated in what were then called Marylebone Fields, near Oxford Road (now Oxford Street). Here Figg frequently exhibited his own skill,

and at other times made matches between the most celebrated masters and mistresses of the art, for in those days the "noble art of self-defence" was not confined to the male sex, for we learn that Mrs. Stokes, the famous City championess, challenged the Hibernian heroines to meet her at Figg's, in Marylebone Fields. In *Mist's Journal* of November 20, 1725, there is the following paragraph respecting the above noted lady :—

"We hear that the gentlemen of Ireland have been long picking out an Hibernian heroine to match Mrs. Stokes, the bold and famous City championess; there is now one arrived in London, who by her make and stature seems likely enough to eat her up. However, Mrs. Stokes being true English blood (and remembering some of the late reflections that were cast upon her husband by some of the country folk), is resolved to see her out "*vi at armis*." This being likely to prove a notable and diverting entertainment, it is not at all doubted but that there will be abundance of gentlemen crowd to Mr. Figg's amphitheatre to see this uncommon performance."

Sometimes bear-baiting, tiger-baiting, &c., were exhibited at Figg's amphitheatre. A bull-fight was once advertised to be performed by a "grimace" Spaniard, who had for some time amused and delighted the people of St. Pancras and Marylebone by making ugly faces and a great company was drawn together by the novelty of the proposed entertainment.

A portrait of Figg is introduced by Hogarth in his second plate of the "Rake's Progress."

After Figg's death, which took place December 11, 1734, the celebrated Broughton occupied an amphitheatre near the same spot, and was for many years the hero of bruisers as Figg had been of prize-fighters. In one of the advertisements issued by Broughton, announcing a trial of skill between two prize-fighters, it was promised, as a kind of "tempting-bait" to the people, "that the beauty of the sword should be rigorously displayed, and that there should be no bandage nor wound

dressed till the battle was over," for it must be remembered that it was legal in those days to fight with swords as well as fists. Rowland Best, who frequently fought at Broughton's generally made it his boast whenever he issued a challenge, "that the ever-memorable Timothy Buck fell by his unfortunate hand." Broughton was at last beaten on his own stage by Slack, the butcher. The fight which took place on this occasion was looked forward to as of great national interest, and the following advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* of November 17, 1749, announces in glowing language the coming contest :—

"The battle between Mr. John Broughton and Mr. John Slack will be decided at the amphitheatre in the Oxford Road, to-morrow, the 11th inst., exactly at 11 o'clock. Note—By desire of several noblemen and gentlemen tickets for the matted galleries will be delivered out at Mr. Broughton's house in the Haymarket.

"As Mr. Broughton some time since took leave of the stage, it may not be improper to acquaint the public that nothing but an insult, which, to pass unresented, would highly impeach his manhood, would ever have provoked him again to enter into the lists; but he flatters himself it will only furnish him with an opportunity to add one more wreath to that trophy which, during the space of twenty-four years, he has been raising by an uninterrupted course of victories; and he henceforth hopes he will meet with the indulgence of the old Roman Champion, and be at liberty with him to say, *Hic victor Cæstus artem que repono.*"

The battle came off, Broughton lost, and Slack the butcher, won £600 by the event. The sums lost and won by the bystanders, were, to a great amount, the place being crowded with amateurs, some of whom were of very high rank.

The two following advertisements, from the *Daily Advertiser* of November, 1745, will give our readers an idea of the challenges and answers of the professional boxers, which, from 1730 to 1750, teemed in the public newspapers. They are couched in the true authenticated sporting style:—

Daily Advertiser, Nov. 6, 1745.—"At Broughton's new amphitheatre, Oxford Road, the back of the late Mr. Figg's, on Wednesday next, the 13th inst., will be exhibited an experimental lecture on manhood, by Hawkesley and Benjamin Bonwell, professors of athletics.

"My behaviour in a late combat with Mr. Smallwood, notwithstanding my inexperience

at the time in the art of boxing, having given a favourable opinion of my prowess, and being ambitious to give a further demonstration of it, do now invite the celebrated Mr. Bonwell to a trial of his abilities, and doubt not, in spite of his jaw-breaking talents, to give him so manly a reception, as to convince the spectators that I do not despair of one day arriving at a Broughtonian excellence in this science; nay, perhaps of obliging that all-conquering hero himself to submit his laurels and resign the boasted *Hic victor* in his motto, to

"HAWKESLEY."

[Reply.]

Daily Advertiser, Nov. 7, 1745.—"I shall do my endeavour to convince my antagonist that though ambition may excite him to the attempt, yet great abilities are necessary to ensure him success in his arduous undertaking, and I believe I shall stop the progress of this aspiring upstart in his imaginary race of glory, and totally expel all thoughts of laurels, mottoes, etc., out of his head, by the strength of the arm of, gentlemen, your old combatant,

"BEN. BONWELL."

The following is a curious advertisement of the same character, announcing a combat between James and Smallwood, the admission to witness which was 5s :—

Daily Advertiser, Dec. 7, 1745.—

"*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus.*"

"At Broughton's amphitheatre, this day, the 7th inst., there will be a tremendous decision of manhood between the celebrated champions James and Smallwood. The various proofs these heroes have given of their superior skill in manual combat, having justly made them the *delicie pugnacis generis*, and being too ambitious to admit of rivalry in the lists of fame, are determined by death or victory, to decide their pretensions to the palm. As not only their whole fortunes, but what is far, far more dear to their hearts, their whole *glory* is at stake, it is not doubted that the utmost efforts of art and nature will be exhibited in this encounter, and thereby the dignity of this heroic science be vindicated from the scandal it has suffered from some late unequal contests, occasioned by the unmanly attempts of vain pretenders who are totally unqualified for such arduous undertakings.

"NB.—As this contest is likely to be rendered horrible by blood and bruises, all Frenchmen are desired to come fortified with

a proper supply of smelling-salts, and it is to be hoped that the ladies of Hockley-in-the-Hole who should happen to be pregnant, will absent themselves on this occasion, lest the terror of the spectacle should unhappily occasion the loss of some young champion to posterity. Noblemen and gentlemen are desired to send for tickets to Mr. Broughton's, the Haymarket, which will admit to the

lower part of the house set apart for their better accommodation."

Shortly after the above, the legal exhibition of prize-fighting was put a stop to by Act of Parliament, and the houses in Marylebone Fields, together with the places of a like resort in Tottenham Court Road, were pulled down, and shops erected on their sites.

The London University.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON is situated in the southern district of St. Pancras, and the building and grounds occupies an area of seven acres. It was founded in the year 1827 for the purpose of affording to the youth of the metropolis and to such as might object to the religious conformity required at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, a liberal course of instruction calculated to qualify them for professional pursuits. The institution is governed by a council of twenty-four, who appoint a warden and several professors in the various departments of literature, to whom a regular salary is paid. According to the statutes the funds of the institution are not to be less than £150,000 or more than £300,000 advanced on shares of £100 each, every proprietor receiving a dividend of four per cent. and having the privilege of appointing one pupil. The course of studies comprehend the ancient, modern, and oriental languages and literature, mathematics, natural, moral and experimental philosophy, mechanics, astronomy, ancient and modern history, logic, political economy, botany, chemistry, medicine and surgery.

The building has in the centre a lofty portico of ten Corinthian pillars, supporting a cornice and triangular pediment, surmounted by a handsome elliptical dome, and on each side a noble facade of the Doric order. It contains lecture-rooms, libraries, a museum, with some beautiful sculpture by Flaxman, besides the different theatres, laboratories, offices, &c. The foundation-stone of the University was laid on Monday, the 20th of April, 1827, by the Duke of Sussex. The following is an account of the proceedings which took place upon the occasion as reported in the *Times* of that date:—

THE NEW UNIVERSITY.—The spot

selected for the erection of the London University is situated at the north end of Gower Street, and occupies an extensive piece of ground. The adjacent streets were crowded with passengers and carriages moving towards the place. The day was one of the finest of this fine season. The visitors who were admitted by cards, were conducted to an elevated platform so that every spectator could see the ceremony. Immediately in the rear of this platform was another, upon which the foundation-stone was placed. The persons admitted to view the ceremony were upwards of two thousand, the greater proportion of whom were well-dressed ladies. Every house in the neighbourhood which afforded the smallest opportunity of witnessing the ceremony was crowded from the windows to the roof, and even the windows of the houses in Gower Street from which no view of the scene could in any way be obtained, were filled with company. At a quarter past three the Duke of Sussex arrived upon the ground, and was greeted by the acclamations of the people both inside and outside the paling. When he descended from his carriage, the band of the third regiment of Foot Guards which had been in the ground some time playing popular airs, struck up "God save the King!" The royal duke, attended by the committee and the stewards, went in procession to the platform, upon which the foundation stone was deposited. The stone had been exactly cut in two, and in the lower half was a rectangular hollow, to receive the medals and coins, and the following Latin inscription, engraved upon a copper-plate:—

Deo opt. Max.

Sempiterno orbis architecto
favente

quod felix faustum que sit

Octavum regni annum ineunte

Georgio quarto Britanniarum

Rege

Celissimus princeps Augustus Fredericus

Sussexiæ Dux

Omnium Bonarum Artium patronus

Antiquissimi ordinis architectonici

Præses apud Anglos summus

Primum Londinensis Academici lapidem

inter civium et fratrum

circumstantium plausus

manu sua locavit

Prid. Kal. Maii.

opus

Diu multum que desideratum

Urbi patriæ commodissimum

Tandem aliquando inchoatum est

Auno salutis humanæ

MDCCCXXVII.

Nomina clarissimorum vivorum

qui sunt e concilio

Henricus dux Norfolkiciæ

Henricus marchio de Lansdown

Dominus Joannes Russell

Joannes vicecomes Dudley et Ward

Georgius Baro de Auckland

Honorabilis iac. Abercrombie

Jacobus Macintosh Eques

Alex Baring Georgius Birkbeck

Hen Brougham Thomas Campbell

I. L. Goldsmid Olinthus Gregory

Georgius Grote Josephus Hume

Zac. Macaulay Jacobus Mill

Benjaminus Shaw Johannes Smith

Gulielmus Tooke Hen. Warburton

Hen. Waymouth Joannes Wishaw

Thomas Wilson

Gulielmus Wilkins, Architectus.

After the above inscription had been read, the upper part of the stone was raised by the pulleys, and his Royal Highness having received the coins, medals, and inscription, deposited them in the hollow formed for their reception. A bed of mortar was next laid upon the ground by the workmen, and his Royal Highness added more, which he took from a silver plate, and afterwards smoothed the whole with a golden trowel, upon which were inscribed the following words :—

“ With this trowel was laid the first stone of the London University by his Royal Highness Augustus, Duke of Sussex, on the 30th of April, 1827, William Wilkins, architect; Messrs. Lee and Co., builders.”

The stone was then gradually lowered amid the cheers of the assembly, the band playing, “ God save the King.” His High-

ness, after having proved the stone with a perpendicular, struck it three times with a mallet at the same time saying, “ May God bless this undertaking which we have so happily commenced, and make it prosper for the honour, happiness, and glory, not only of the metropolis, but of the whole country.”

An oration was then delivered by the Rev. Dr. Maltby, in which a prayer was offered up on behalf of the University. After which

Dr. Lushington, in a speech of considerable length, stated that he had been chosen by the committee to be the organ of their opinion on that occasion, and expatiated upon the advantages which were likely to arise from the establishment of a London University, and especially upon its admission of Dissenters, who were excluded from the two great Universities. He concluded by paying an eloquent compliment to the Duke of Sussex, who, attached to no party, was a friend to all, and who by his liberality promoted and encouraged any efforts of the subjects of this realm, whatever their political opinions, if their motives were proper and praiseworthy.

The Duke of Sussex acknowledged the compliment paid him, and said that the proudest day of his life was that on which he laid the foundation stone of the London University, surrounded as he was by gentlemen of high rank, fortune, and character as any in the kingdom. He was quite convinced the undertaking would be productive of great good; it would excite the old universities to fresh exertions, and force them to reform abuses.

On the evening of the same day on which the foundation stone was laid, a grand dinner was held at the Freemason's Tavern in commemoration of the event, to which upwards of 420 sat down. The Duke of Sussex was in the chair, and the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Henry Brougham, Esq., and a great number of notabilities were present. After the usual toasts had been drunk, the chairman proposed “ Prosperity to the University of London,” which was responded to by Lord Brougham (then Mr. Brougham).

Mr. Henry Brougham in responding to the toast, said, two years had not elapsed since he had the happiness of attending a meeting, at which most probably a great proportion of those he saw before him, were present, for the purpose of founding the new University of London, in the heart of the metropolis of the empire, the cradle of all our great establishments, and of the civil and religious liberties of the land. On the day which he referred to, the circumstances under which he

spoke were very different from those which now surrounded him. The advocates of the University had then to endure the sneers of some, the more open jibes and taunts of others, accompanied by the timidly expressed hopes of many friends, and the ardent good wishes of a large body of enlightened men, balanced, however, by the loudly expressed and deep execrations of the enemies of human improvement, light, and liberty throughout the world. Now, however, the heavy clouds which had hung over the undertaking, had disappeared and they had succeeded that morning in laying the foundation of the University amidst the plaudits of surrounding thousands, accompanied by the good wishes of mankind from every quarter of the globe. (Cheers.) As regarded the management of the institution, the council had come to a fixed resolution, that in the selection of teachers for the University no such phrase as "candidate for votes" should be used in their presence. The appointments would be given to those who were found most worthy of it; and if their merits, however little known, should be found to surpass others the most celebrated, only in the same proportion as the dust is found to turn the balance, the former would certainly be preferred. Instead of teaching for only five or six months in the year, it was intended that the lectures at the University should continue nine months. After each lecture the lecturer would devote an hour or two to examine each of the pupils to ascertain whether they had understood the subject of the discourse. The lecturer would then apply another hour, three times a week, to the further instruction of such of his pupils as displayed particular zeal in the pursuit of knowledge. By such means it was hoped that the pupils might not only be encouraged to learn what was already known but to dash into untried paths and become

discoverers themselves. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Brougham) in a strain of eloquence, then proceeded to defend the charge which had been made against him of being inimical to the two great English Universities, which he designated the two lights and glories of literature and science. Was it to be supposed that because he had the misfortune not to be educated in the sacred haunts of the muses on the Cam or the Isis, that he should, like the fox in the fable, declare the fruit which was beyond his reach, to be sour. He hoped that those two celebrated seats of learning would continue to flourish as heretofore, and he would be the last person in the world to do anything which would tend to impair their glory. He would conclude by repeating some lines written by one of the sweetest minstrels, and which he had before quoted in reference to the undertaking which they were then assembled to support. He had quoted them prophetically; now it was applicable as a description of past events:—

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swell from the vale, and midway leaves
the storm;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds
are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

Various other toasts were drank, amongst which was that of the Marquis of Lansdowne, coupled with the Cambridge University, and who in reply, stated "that he felt the greatest veneration for the institution in which he had been educated. He considered it by no means inconsistent with that feeling to express the most ardent wishes for the prosperity of the New University. He was persuaded that the extension of science in one quarter could not be prejudicial to its cultivation in another."

Whitfield Chapel.

THE foundation-stone of the above chapel was laid on the 10th of May, 1756, and opened on the 7th November, of the same year. It was built by subscription raised under the auspices of George Whitfield, who at that period, together with Wesley, was awakening the land by his eloquence and his

indefatigable energy. On the occasion of its opening, Whitfield preached a most impressive sermon to a crowded auditory, and during his life it continued to be one of the most popular places of worship in the metropolis. It is octagonal in shape, and built so as to accommodate a large number of people. Over the

door are the arms of Whitfield. Inside there is a monument erected to his and that of his wife's memory, the latter of whom lies buried in the vaults of the chapel, and on which is the following inscription:—

In Memory of
Mrs. ELIZABETH WHITFIELD,
Aged 62,

Who after upwards of thirty years' strong and frequent manifestations of a Saviour's love, and as strong and frequent strugglings with the buffetings of Satan, bodily sickness, and the in-dwellings of sin, finished her course with joy, August 9, anno domini 1768.

Also to the Memory of
GEORGE WHITFIELD, M.A.,
Late Chaplain to the

Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, Whose soul, made meet for glory, was taken to Immanuel's bosom, the 30th September, 1770, and whose body now lies in the silent grave at Newbury Port near Boston, in New England, there deposited in sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection to eternal life and glory. He was a man eminent in piety, of a humane, benevolent, and charitable disposition; his zeal in the cause of God was singular, his labours indefatigable, and his success in preaching the Gospel remarkable and astonishing. He departed this life in the 56th year of his age.

"And like his Master, by some despised,
Like him, by many others loved and prized;
But theirs shall be the everlasting crown,
Not whom the world, but Jesus Christ shall own."

On the congregation of Whitfield Chapel receiving the news of the death of their minister, George Whitfield, who had undertaken a mission to Georgia, in America, the edifice was hung with mourning for six weeks, and the pulpit decorated with his escutcheon.

Among the other monuments is that of John Green, minister of the chapel, 1774. On the floor are the tombs of Mr. Matthew Pearce, builder of the chapel, and the Rev. A. M. Toplady. The latter gentleman was a most zealous advocate of Calvinism, and his writings, which are many, are most severe against those who differ from him. In the cemetery is the tomb of the Rev. Richard Elliott, member of Bennett College, Cambridge, and who published several works. He dropped down dead while he was preaching

at the meeting-house in Glasshouse Yard, Goswell Street.

The chapel was burnt out a few years ago, but again restored, with but little alteration from its former shape. Attached to the chapel are several almshouses, each resident in which receives a weekly stipend, besides coal and candles free.

SKETCH OF WHITFIELD'S LIFE AND MODE OF PREACHING.

GEORGE WHITFIELD was a native of Gloucester, in which city his father kept an inn. He was born in December, 1714. At the age of 12 he became one of the scholars of a Grammar School established in that city. At 18 he went to Pembroke College, Oxford; the following year he became acquainted with the Methodists, whom, he said, "he loved as his own soul." From that body he received the information "that he must be born again, for outward religion availed him nothing." Impressed with this idea he began to assist in the active operations of his brethren, by fasting and visiting prisons and sick persons. In the words of Wesley, who preached Whitfield's funeral sermon, "a complete change in the course of his studies followed. Neglect and contempt from his fellow students, the loss of his best friends, sleepless nights, and physical prostration, were evidences of his trial, as with fire."

At the age of 21, he was solicited to enter holy orders, but refused through a conviction of his own inefficiency. At length the Bishop prevailed on him to consent, adding the compliment that though he had determined to ordain no one under the age of 23, he would make an exception in his favour. While at the University, he was indefatigable in his visits to the prisoners and the poor in the neighbourhood. After taking his degree of B.A. he went to the cure of Dunmer, in Hampshire, at which place it was his habit to read prayers early in the morning daily, and in the evening, after the country people left their work, catechise the children, and then to visit all who would admit him. In order to accomplish this fatiguing duty, he divided the day into three portions—eight hours were appropriated to sleeping and eating, eight hours to retirement and study, and eight to the offices already mentioned.

In January, 1737, he determined upon going to America, and left Dunmer for Gloucester, to take leave of his friends. In the course of his journey, such was the eager-

ness of the people to hear him preach, "that the heat of the churches was scarcely supportable."

On his return from the New World he was ordained at Chrish Church, Oxford. The moment he began to preach, he found his auditors so extremely numerous that he conceived the idea of addressing them in the open air in future. His friends, however, said it would much derogate from his dignity, and he was accordingly dissuaded from so acting at the time. On the 21st of February, 1739, however, he happened to be at Bristol, when, finding no church in the city would be able to contain one-half of the people who displayed a desire to hear him, at three in the afternoon he walked to Kingswood, and preached to nearly 2,000 people of the poorer classes, and so great was his success in outdoor preaching that sometimes he afterwards had as many as 5,000 and even 10,000 for a congregation.

After continuing for some time to preach to over-crowded in-door congregations as well as immense out-door gatherings, the large chapel in Tottenham Court Road was erected for his ministry, and at its opening he preached a most powerful and eloquent sermon. Not long after the commencement of his ministry there, however, he again expressed his determination to go to America, where, upon his arrival, his reception was most enthusiastic. "In all places the greater part of his congregation were affected to an amazing degree, and many truly converted to God." "In some places," he states in his own journal, "the whole congregation were dissolved in tears. After service 'all his family,' particularly the little children, returned home, crying along the street, and some could not help praying aloud." He died at Newbury, in America, in the year 1770.

The following are some very interesting extracts taken from Mr. Whitfield's private journal, published some years ago:—

"*Sunday, Jan. 7, 1750.*—Preached twice to-day, and expounded with great power to three societies, one of which I never visited before. God grant that I may pursue the method of expounding and praying extempore. Had another love-feast, and spent the whole of the night in prayer and thanksgiving at Fetter Lane Chapel. There was a great outpouring of the spirit among the brethren, but I cannot say I was so full of joy as the last night we spent together."

"*Monday, Jan. 15.*—Near nine times did God enable me to preach last week, and to expound twelve or fourteen times. I find I gain greater light and knowledge by preaching extempore, so that I fear I should quench the spirit did I not go on to speak as he gives me utterance. Waited upon an opposing clergyman, and had a conference with him of nearly two hours. His grand objection was against our private societies. In answer I showed that the act of Charles II. was entirely levelled against schismatic meetings contrary to the Church of England. He replied that ours was a public worship; but this I denied, for our societies were never intended to be set up in opposition to the public worship by law established, but only in imitation of the primitive Christians, who continued daily with one accord in the Temple."

"*Sunday, Feb. 4.*—Had a comfortable night's rest. Was warned much by an almost Christian, who came to ask me certain questions. Preached in the morning at St. George's-in-the-East, and had, I believe, 600 communicants, which highly offended the officiating curate. Poor man! I pitied and prayed for him sincerely."

"*Tuesday, Feb. 6.*—Reached Northampton about five in the evening, and was courteously received by Dr. Doddridge, master of the Academy there. At 7 o'clock I preached to about 3,000 hearers, on a common near the town. Great power, I believe, was amongst us, and I preached with great pleasure, because I then thought I had hold of one of the devil's strongholds."

"*Friday, June 1.*—Dined at Old Ford, gave a short address to a few people in the field, and preached in the evening at a place called May Fair, near Hyde Park. The congregation consisted, I believe, of nearly 10,000 people, and was by far the largest I ever preached to yet. During the time of prayer there was a little noise, but they kept silent the whole of the discourse. A high and very commodious scaffold was erected for me to stand upon, and though I was weak in myself God strengthened me to speak so loud that all could hear, and so powerful, that most, I believe, could feel."

Such are a few of the sentiments and feelings of a man whose preaching in the last century effected such a wonderful change in the lives and manners of masses of our benighted countrymen.

The St. Pancras Volunteers

OF 1799.

SIXTY YEARS AGO the inhabitants of St. Pancras were as enthusiastic in support of the Volunteer movement as they are upon the present occasion. When the enemy in the year 1801, was encamped in full sight on the heights across the channel, and the intention of an invasion of these islands was loudly proclaimed, hundreds of the inhabitants of this parish enrolled themselves as volunteers under various denominations. There were the "St. Pancras Volunteers," the "Loyal Highgate Volunteers," the "Kentish Town Association," the "Loyal British Artificers," and the "London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers," the latter of which erected at considerable cost barracks in the Gray's Inn-road, now converted to the purposes of the Royal Free Hospital.

The Kentish Town Association was the first Volunteer Corps formed in the parish; it had for its commandant, at its formation, George Jackson, Esq., an old and highly respected inhabitant of the village, and after his resignation, the Honourable Archibald Fitz-Simon Fraser of Lovat (the son of the unfortunate Lord Lovat), who, for many years, resided at Kentish Town.

The St. Pancras Volunteer Corps was formed in April, 1798, for the preservation of public tranquillity, to assist the civil magistrates, and for the protection of property, but not to march, without consent, beyond their own district. The corps consisted of three companies, battalion and light infantry, of about 340 privates; every man had the care

of his arms, ammunition and accoutrements. This corps in 1799 had for its Major Commandant and Captain, John Dixon, and originally formed part of the Kentish Town Association. The St. Pancras Volunteers received their colours from the hand of Mrs. Dixon, as proxy for Lady Camden in the cricket-ground belonging to Mr. Lord; on the 19th October, 1803. their colours were consecrated at Fitzroy Chapel, by the Rev. A. T. Matthew, their chaplain. They were reviewed by George III. in Hyde Park on the 4th of June, 1799, when sixty-six volunteer corps paraded there in honour of their Sovereign's birthday, and by their loyal, steady, and military appearance, showed themselves both willing and able to defend their king and constitution. On the 21st June in the same year the St. Pancras Volunteers were inspected by the King at the Foundling Hospital.

On stated days the corps marched to Chalk Farm to fire with ball at a target, for a silver cup, subscribed for by the corps.

The committee consisted of all the officers and eighteen privates; each company chose its own private to represent them in committee.

The dress of the St. Pancras Volunteers was a blue coat and pantaloons, red lappet, collar, and cuffs, and white waistcoat; on the helmet was a label with "St. Pancras Volunteers, G R.," ornamented with garter-and-crown.

The Parish Church.

IN the early period of the present century the population of the parish had so much increased that the old church in the Pancras Road and the Episcopal Chapel at Kentish Town were totally inadequate to accommodate the parishioners, and it was resolved that a temple worthy to represent the district should be erected in a more central position in the parish. A site was accordingly selected on the south side of the then newly-formed Euston Road, and the foundation-stone was laid by the Duke of York on Thursday, July 1st, 1819, with great solemnity, and in the presence of a large assemblage of people. The Rev. J. Moore, LL.D., was the Vicar, Charles Lambert and Thomas Weeding, Esqs., Churchwardens; William Inwood and Henry William Inwood, Esqs., the architects, and Mr. Seabrook the builder. The entire cost of its erection amounted to upwards of £76,000.

In the general plan of its exterior it is founded on a model of the ancient temple of Erechtheus at Athens, and is said to be the first place of Christian worship erected in this country in the strict Grecian style; it consequently exhibits a chaste simplicity and airy elegance which strongly contrasts with the ponderous splendour and gorgeous solemnity of architecture which distinguish the generality of religious edifices. Its portico is formed of six Ionic pillars of the most beautiful symmetry, and there are three entrances under the portico, the centre one an exact representation of the entrance of the Greek temple named, the rich ornaments and mouldings of which were executed from models by Mr. Rossi, the celebrated sculptor, in terra cotta. Indeed, the doorway of the church, its portico, and other details were taken from models expressly cast at Athens on the site of the temple by Mr. H. W. Inwood, one of the architects, and brought to this country in the year 1820. The two side doors are in the same classical style. At the eastern end of the church are two projecting wings, one a vestry-room, the other a registry office. They are formed upon the model of the Prandosium, which was attached to the temple of Erechtheus, and are richly decorated

with mouldings, pateræ, and other ornaments. The female figures, with inverted torches, were executed by Mr. Rossi; they are somewhat varied in character, to suit the sepulchral effect of their situation, underneath the wings being the entrance to the catacombs. Between these two wings, the eastern end of the church is erected in a semi-circular form, and in this respect only differs from the original at Athens, which is square. Around the outer edge of the summit of the church, at intervals two feet apart, are Grecian tiles, and these, like the other ornaments, are composed of terra cotta, and are the common finish to all the Grecian roofs of buildings of any pretension, giving a lightness to their structures which they would not otherwise possess. The steeple is also from an Athenian model, the "Temple of the Wind," said to have been built by Pericles, and which was followed as closely as circumstances would permit. Its elevation from the ground is 165 feet. It is of an octagonal form, and consists of two stories, each supported by eight pillars. There is an ornamented roof, and the whole is surmounted by a cross. The original steeple at Athens was surmounted by a figure, which turned on a pivot, and indicated the quarter from whence the wind blew, and hence the title of the "Temple of the Wind."

The interior of the church is in keeping with its exterior. A chaste and almost severe simplicity characterises its general appearance. The vestibule or entrance hall is a correct representation of the interior of the "Temple of the Wind." In the body of the church, above the communion-table, are some splendid verd antique Scagliola marble columns, with bases and capitals of white statuary marble, and copied from the "Temple of Minerva." The light and elegant pillars which support the galleries are taken from casts of the Elgin marbles. The galleries are very commodious, though plain and without any ornament beyond Grecian mouldings cast in terra cotta. The pulpit and reading desk are composed of the oak of the venerable tree so long and so well known as the Fairlop Oak; the grain of the

wood is particularly beautiful, and bears a high polish. The windows of the church are also upon the Grecian model, and are composed of ground glass with stained borders. There is accommodation for about 2,500 people in the church.

The time it took for erection was three years, and on Tuesday, the 7th of May, 1822, the church was consecrated for public worship by the Bishop of London in the presence of a large and aristocratic assemblage of people. On the morning of the consecration the doors were opened at ten o'clock, and in half an hour the edifice was completely filled. A few minutes after eleven o'clock the Bishop of London arrived, and was received at the church doors by the Registrar, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and the Vicar, Dr. Moore, in their robes, accompanied by the churchwardens, and the twelve trustees. After his Lordship had robed, he proceeded to the front of the altar, where the petition for the consecration was presented by the Vicar, and read by the Registrar, after which a procession was formed, headed by the Bishop, which walked up and down the middle aisle in the following order, repeating the 24th Psalm, the clergy and others making responses :—

The Clergy
Twelve Trustees
The Churchwardens with wands
The Apparitor
The Bishop of London
The Chancellor
The Vicar
The Bishop's Chaplains
The Registrar
Solicitors
Architects
Builder.

After his Lordship had proceeded up and down the aisle he was conducted to the communion table. The usual prayers were then repeated by the Bishop, after which the sentence of consecration was read by the Chancellor and signed by the Bishop. The service was read in an impressive manner by Dr. Burroughs. The lessons were taken from the 1st chapter of Kings and 10th of Hebrews; the Psalms sung upon the occasion were the 84th, 122nd, and the 123rd. After the admired anthem, "Oh, that I had wings like a dove!" in which the gentlemen of the King's Chapel Royal assisted, the Bishop read the communion service, and one of his lordship's chaplains read the Gospel and Epistle. The 100th Psalm was then sung, after which the Rev. J. Moore, (the Vicar) preached an appropriate sermon, taking his text from the 96th Psalm, 9th verse, "O, worship the Lord in the beauty of Holiness!" The reverend gentleman, in a style which commanded much attention, touched upon the modes and forms of worship (particularly as connected with the erection of religious edifices) from the commencement of the Christian era, through the dark ages and the troubles of the Reformation, down to that day. He strongly urged the necessity of appropriating proper space to provide poor people with free sittings in all religious edifices. After the sermon the Bishop read the common prayer for the church militant, and pronounced the benediction, the whole ceremony concluding at about three o'clock.

The ecclesiastical right of the new church to its claim of being the parish church is not yet (1861) definitely settled, a dispute is still pending on the subject, though to all intent and purposes the question is considered to have been long since decided.

St. Bartholomew's Church.

THE above church, formerly known as the Episcopal Chapel, Gray's Inn Road, is a plain, square, brick-built structure, with stone facings, standing in the centre of a plot of ground on the east side of the road, a little below Calthorpe Street. Its interior is also plain, but commodious, and affords accommodation for 1,500 people. It was originally

erected for the well-known William Huntington, a popular dissenting preacher at the beginning of the present century, and whose history is a most remarkable one. After his death it was purchased by a Mr. Davenport, who sub-leased it to the Rev. T. Mortimer at a rental of £320 per annum, and who reopened it for public worship as an Episcopal

Chapel. Upon the retirement of Mr. Mortimer in 1849, the present incumbent, the Rev. E. Garbett, consented to become his successor, and has laboured for ten years to get rid of the debt by which the chapel was encumbered and to have it consecrated as a district church. A succession of almost insurmountable legal difficulties arose before this object could be effected, in one instance an Act of Parliament having to be specially passed to make the title of the land, which was generously presented by Lord Calthorpe, perfectly valid. The original leaseholder, Mr. Davenport, being a lunatic and a dissenter, it became necessary to apply for the authority of the Court of Chancery before a sale could be completed. An order of the Court was, however, issued for the sale of the property for £3,000. A loan and a fancy sale were resorted to to pay this sum, its liquidation being demanded within a month from the date of the order. A difficulty then arose in the transfer of the ground, the original lease to Mr. Davenport including four houses, situated on either side of the chapel entrance, to which the trustees could prefer no claim. No law existed which could enable the ground landlord to divest himself of the freehold of the chapel without divesting himself likewise of his right as landlord over the four houses. The holders of these leaseholds had to be induced to resign their leases and accept new leases. When these difficulties were removed, another impediment occurred in the death of one of the parties whose signatures were necessary for the completion of the leases. The successor to the property was a lunatic, and for a second time the affairs of the chapel were complicated by a commission of lunacy, and another year was lost before it could be completed. At length, after ten years' constant effort, affording an example of perseverance and triumph over difficulties on the part of the incumbent, all obstacles to its consecration were removed, and it was accordingly formally consecrated by the Bishop of London, on Monday the 13th of February, 1860.

As has been already remarked, the church was originally built for William Huntington at an expense of nearly £10,000, and opened in May, 1811. He was severally a coalheaver, a shoemaker, and a gardener, and before he took to the ministry, his career was an exceedingly strange and eventful one. His genius and force of character were undoubted, but that they were somewhat marred by the want of education, and other circumstances, is equally evident. He preached for a long time very successfully in "Providence

Chapel," as it was then called, and was as popular a dissenting preacher as Spurgeon is in our own day, though we would not carry the comparison further. The following is a short but interesting account of the history of this remarkable man :—

LIFE OF WILLIAM HUNTINGTON.

WILLIAM HUNTINGTON was born in the year 1744, in the parish of Cranbrook, Kent, and, by his own account, was an illegitimate child. His reputed father was a day labourer, but his real parent was a farmer in the vicinity. He obtained admission into a free school at an early age, at which he merely learnt to write a little and read the New Testament. His occupations, as he grew up, were extremely various; at first he was an errand-boy, then a day-labourer, and at other periods of his life a servant, a gardener, a cobbler, and a coalheaver. It was at Ewell, in Surrey, where he lived as a gentleman's gardener, that he received his first impression that his calling was for the ministry; he had then learnt to read with tolerable proficiency, and availed himself of this advantage by reading the Scriptures and preaching in his own little cottage or hovel situated at Ewell Marsh, near to his employer's residence. "At this place," he says, "I continued preaching. My congregation increased until the little thatched house became full of hearers, and the Lord often visited us with precious gales from the everlasting hills, and made that little thatched house a Bethel to us; yea, the house of God in reality and the very gate of heaven."

In this little thatched hovel, he also tells us, "he lived with his wife and child in a ready-furnished room, at a rental of 2s. per week, frequently having left, to supply all his other wants, only eighteen or twenty-pence, sometimes two shillings, sometimes half-a-crown, yet living through the week upon that only, without contracting any debt." Losing his situation at Ewell through a conscientious refusal to work in his master's garden on the Sunday, he removed to Thames Ditton, where he was employed, for fourteen months, as a coalheaver, at ten shillings per week.

It was while engaged in this employment that he put on his first parson's attire, being enabled to do so by a gentleman having given him an old black coat and waistcoat, and which happening to be very large, made a complete suit for him. Soon afterwards he turned cobbler, but as he found it impossi-

ble to preach five or six times a week and carry on business as well, he determined to give up that employment and continue to labour for God only, whatever he might suffer. At this time he rented a little cottage at £3 18s. per annum, and had about as much furniture in it as a porter could carry in one load. His resolution was the means of exercising his faith to a great extent, but he persevered, and his fame spreading, he was at length invited to preach in London, at Margaret Street Chapel. "At this," he says, "he was sore afraid for various reasons; he had heard the place abounded with errors, and as he had no learning, nor knew nothing of Greek, Hebrew, or even English grammar, he felt he would be exposed to the scourging tongue of every critic."

However, he did preach in London, and shortly after his arrival, the numerous calls upon his ministerial labours made it necessary for him to hire a horse, that he might the more easily perform his journeys to and fro between Thames Ditton and the metropolis. This led one of his London hearers to present him with one, and Huntington's reflections upon this gift were in his customary tone: "I believe this horse," he says, "was the gift of God, because he tells me in his Word that all the beasts of the forest are his, and so are the cattle on a thousand hills. I have often thought that if my horse could speak he would have more to say than Balaam's ass, as he might say, 'I am an answer to my master's prayers.'" Prayer was, indeed, his resource in all emergencies, whether important or not, and we cannot help admiring the simplicity of heart with which he received the commonest gifts as the answers to prayer. As an instance, he writes at another time, "When Providence had been exercising my faith and patience till the cupboard was empty, in answer to a simple prayer, he sent me one of the largest *hams* I ever saw. Indeed, I saw clearly I had nothing to do but to pray, to study, and to preach, for God took care of me and my family also."

At length, in consequence of a dream, in which he was commanded to "prophecy upon the *thick boughs*," he felt it suddenly impressed upon his mind to leave Thames Ditton and take a house in London. "On removing," he says, "my effects had so increased that I loaded two large carts with furniture, besides a postchaise well filled with children and cats!" So strong was his faith, that at a time when he was twenty pounds in debt for the necessities of life he com-

menced building a chapel in Tichfield Street, and for which, when finished, he was in arrears £1,000 more. His friends were not, however, few, and the following account of the free-will offerings which the people brought, is characteristic of his usual style:—"The first," he says, "brought about eleven sovereigns, and laid them on the foundation-stone when we commenced the building. A good gentleman, with whom I had but little acquaintance, and of whom I bought a load of timber, sent it in with a bill and receipt in full as a present to the Chapel of Providence. Another good man came, with tears in his eyes, and blessed me, and desired to paint my pulpit desk, &c., as a present to the chapel. Another friend gave me half-a-dozen chairs for the vestry, and a daughter of mine in the faith gave me a looking-glass for my chapel study, and another gave me a book-case for the vestry; and my good friend, Mr. E., seemed to level all his displeasure at the Devil, for he was in hopes I should be enabled, through the gracious arm of our Lord, to cut Rahab in pieces, therefore he furnished me with the Sword of the Spirit—a new Bible with silver clasps."

In the end, however, he went on and so prospered that his little chapel became full, and he thought of building an addition to it on a piece of land adjoining, but was deterred from executing this plan by the sum demanded for ground-rent—£100 per annum. His reflections upon this event were characteristic:—"The heavens, even the heavens, are the Lords, but the earth He hath given to the children of men!" So I found it, and they are determined to make the most of it." He soon, however, found a cure for this circumstance, "for," said he, "finding nothing could be done with the *earthholders* I turned my eyes another way, and determined to build my stories in the *heavens* (Amos ix. 6), where I should find more room and less rent!"

To this his friends agreed, and the chapel was raised one story higher, and the expense was chiefly paid out of the sale of his works, "The Book of Faith," "The Kingdom of Heaven taken by Prayer," &c. They sold enormously. They were full of quaint and original remarks, as the following extracts will show:—

His original name was Hunt, and the reason which led him to change it to Huntington was peculiar. Being obliged to fly from the parish in which he resided by the demand made upon him for the support of an illegitimate child (which took place before his conversion), he had recourse, among

other expedients for the concealment of this stigma, upon his entrance into a new life to change his patronymick. The grounds which he gives are in his own words: "If I change my name, the law may follow me for that; if I let the present name stand I may by that be traced by the newspapers. There is but one way to escape, and that is by addition. Addition is no change, no robbery. Well thought on, said I, it is—i, n, g, t, o, n, which is to be joined to H, u, n, t, which, put together, make *Huntington*. And thus matters were settled without being guilty of an exchange or committing a robbery. With this name I was *born* again; with this name I was *baptised* with the Holy Ghost, and I will appeal to any man of sense, if a person has not a just right to go by the name that he was *born and baptised* with."

When he wrote a work he always put the initials S. S. at the end of it, and his reason for so doing he gave as follows:—

"Some have been inquiring what I mean by S. S. at the end of my name, and various constructions have been put upon it. You know *we clergy* are very fond of titles of honour; some are called *Lords Spiritual*, though we have no lords but in the person of the ever blessed Trinity; others are named Doctors of Divinity and Prebends, though God gives no such titles; therefore I cannot conscientiously add D.D. to my functions, though some hundreds have been spiritually healed under my ministry; nor have I fourteen pounds to spare to buy the dissenting title of D.D. Being thus circumstanced I cannot call myself a Lord Spiritual, because Peter, the Pope's enemy, condemns it, nor can I call myself Lord High Primate, because supremacy in the Scriptures is applied only to kings, and never to ministers of the Gospel. As I cannot get at D.D. for the want of cash, neither can I get at M.A. for the want of learning, therefore I am compelled to fly for refuge to S.S., by which I mean Sinner Saved, or, that I am 'made wise unto salvation.'"

Eventually the little chapel in Tichfield Street, belonging to this singular man, was burnt down, but such was the influence he possessed amongst his congregation, that they determined to build him another. After some time they found a suitable piece of ground on the east side of Gray's Inn Road, which they took on lease from Lord Calthorpe, and built the structure, now called St. Bartholomew's Church, at a cost of about £10,000. A day was fixed upon for open-

ing it, but he refused to officiate unless they made it his own personal freehold, and so great was the devotion of all concerned in the building, that the trustees unanimously resigned their shares in his favour. On the front of the chapel was the following inscription: "Providence Chapel. Erected by William Huntington, A.D. 1811."

Here he preached for some time very successfully to crowded congregations. Some few years before his death his first wife died, and he afterwards married the wealthy widow of the late Sir James Grandison, Bart, daughter of Alderman Skinner, who, it is stated, first repaired to "Providence Chapel" with the view of finding a subject of ridicule in the preacher "who afterwards became his wife."

He died July 1, 1813, at Tunbridge Wells, whether he went for the sake of his health and was removed to Lewes for interment. The stone at the head of his grave exhibits the following epitaph, dictated by himself a few days before his death:—

Here lies

THE COALHEAVER
Who departed this life

July 1, 1813,

In the 60th year of his age,
Beloved of his God

But abhorred of men.

The Omniscient Judge at the Grand Assize shall ratify and confirm this to the confusion of many thousands, for England and its metropolis shall know that there has been a prophet among them.

Soon after his death his furniture and effects belonging to the house in which he lived at Hermes Hill (near White Conduit House, Islington) were sold by public auction. The sale lasted four days, and such was the anxiety of many of the members of his congregation to obtain some relic of their admired preacher, that enormous prices were realized. An old elbow chair, in which he was accustomed to sit, sold for *sixty guineas*; a pair of spectacles, *seven guineas*; a silver snuff-box, £5 5s; and all articles of plate 26s. per ounce. The whole produced £1,800.

A member of his congregation, who was in possession of what he considered a precious relic belonging to Mr. Huntington (the *cover* of his Bible) wrote the following lines, after coming into possession of the Bible itself:—

The Sons of Science and of Fame

With God are not preferred,

He gives to some of little name

The treasure of his word.

AMOS was called from servile clans
 To preach to dying souls,
 BUNYAN from brazen leaky pans,
 And HUNT from heaving coals.

Inscribed with notes on doctrines high,
 To one his Bible fell
 Who took the kernel out, and I
 Inglorious got the shell;
 Here I replace the sacred tome,
 From human comment free,

Untouched by Huntingtonian thumb,
 Yet not denied to me.

This rustic scanned the truth with care,
 And by the Spirit's aid
 Made wiser than his teachers were,
 Resigned his sable trade.
 He took the Gospel trump in hand,
 Now, like the ram's horn found,
 And then, his pliant lips command
 In tones of silvery sound.

The "Elephant and Castle,"

CAMDEN TOWN.

THE above house of entertainment is one of the oldest in St. Pancras, and is said to have derived its name from a peculiar discovery which was made in its vicinity more than a century ago.

About the year 1714, Mr. John Conyers, an apothecary in Fleet Street, who was an enthusiastic local antiquarian, and who made it his chief business to collect local antiquities, which at that time were often being discovered in and about London consequent on the extensive building operations then going on, was one day digging in a field near to the Fleet Brook and Battle Bridge, and not far from St. Pancras Workhouse, when he discovered the remains of an elephant, conjectured to have been killed there

by the Britons when battling with their Roman conquerors. Near the same spot was also found an ancient British spear, consisting of the head of a flint fastened into a shaft of considerable length. It is from this curious fact that the public-house, called "the Elephant and Castle" derives its name. At that time the ancient Fleet Brook ran past the west side of the road of the Workhouse, where its width increased very much. The elephant mentioned was probably brought over by the Romans, thinking, no doubt, such huge monsters would frighten the barbarians and so aid them in obtaining victories, as they had done before with many other uncivilized hordes who had never seen such animals.

The Hamlet of Highgate.

THE hamlet of Highgate is situated in three different parishes—St. Pancras, Hornsey, and Islington. Its southern end is subject to the jurisdiction of the local government of St. Pancras, and includes part of the "Gate-House" Inn, the Cemetery, St. Michael's Church, Sir Roger Chomley's School, and other objects of interest.

At a very early period the greater portion of what is now known as the hamlet of Highgate was covered by the great forest of Middlesex, and continued to be principally covered with wood for some considerable time, for it appears that Henry VIII. used to indulge in hunting in this neighbourhood. In the middle of his reign, fearful of losing his sport in this direction, that monarch issued the following proclamation:—

"A PROCLAMATION yt noe person interrupt the King's game of partridge or pheasant. Rex majori et vicecomitibus London. Vobis mandamus, &c.

"Forasmuch as the King's most Royale Majestie is much desirous of having the game of hare, partridge, pheasant and heron, preserved in and about his honour at Westminster for his disport and pastime; that is toe saye, from his said palace, toe our Ladye of the Oke, toe Highgate and Hamsted Heath, toe be preserved for his own pleasure and recreation; his Royale Highnesse doth straightwaye charge and commandeth all and singular of his subjects, of what estate and condition soev' they be, not toe attempt toe hunt or hawke or kill any of the said games within the precincts of Hamsted, as they tender his favour, and would eschewe the imprisonment of their bodies and further punishment at his Majestie's will and pleasure."

"Teste meipso apud Westm. vij die Julij anno trecesimo septimo Henrici Octavi, 1546.

Norden states that the name "Highgate" was derived from the "High Gate" or "Gate on the Hill," there having been from time immemorial the toll-gate belonging to the Bishop of London on the summit of the hill.

The origin of the gate was as follows: There was not, until the fourteenth century, any public road over the hill into the northern counties; the main way from the metropolis into the northern districts being from Clerkenwell and Gray's Inn Lane, up Maiden Lane, across the road over the archway, and thence by Crouch End, Muswell Hill, Colney Hatch, Whetstone, and High Barnet. The circuitous route of this road, however, and its bad state in winter, gave rise to great complaints on the part of packmen and carriers, and at length the Bishop of London, agreed to form a new road right across the hill to Whetstone. The agreement is recorded in an old document. In referring to the old route it says:—

"The ancient highway was refused by wayfaring men and travellers by reason of the deepness and dirtie pas-age in the winter season. In regard whereof it was agreed between the Bishop of London and the countrie that a new waie should be laid through the said Bishop's Park, beginning at Highgate Hill to lead directly to Whetstone, for which new waie all cartes, carriers, and packmen, yeeld a certain tole unto the Bishop, which tole is farmed at £40 per annum, and for which purpose a gate was erected."

Norden, from whose invaluable work upon Middlesex, we have so often quoted, and whose authority may safely be trusted, in writing upon Highgate, says:—

"It is a hill over which is a passage, and at the top of the said hill is a gate through which all manner of passengers have their waie. The place taketh the name of the High Gate on the Hill, which gate was erected at the alteration of the waie, which is on the east of Highgate. When the waie was turned over the said hill, to lead through the park of the Bishop of London, as now it doth, there was in regard thereof, a tole raised upon such as passed that waie, and for that no passenger should escape without paying tole by reason of the wideness of the waie, this gate was raised, through which all travellers must passe and be more aptely staide."

The Hermitage & Chapel at Highgate.

THERE was formerly a hermitage or chapel on the summit of Highgate Hill, which Norden supposes stood on the site now occupied by Sir Richard Chomley's school. The hermitage was in the gift of the Bishop of London. In 1386 "Bishop Braybrooke of London, gave to William Lichfield, a poor hermit, the office of keeping our chapel at Highgate, and the house annexed to the said chapel, hitherto accustomed to be kept by other poor hermits." In 1531 William Forte was hermit. This William Forte was probably the last hermit, as in the year 1565 Queen Elizabeth granted the chapel, or hermitage, to Sir Richard Chomley, and in 1578 an entirely new chapel was built contiguous to the school which that knight had founded. It was erected as a chapel of ease for the inhabitants of Highgate.

In the registry of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's is a conveyance of this chapel to Sir Roger Chomley by Edmund Grindall, Bishop of London, in 1565. It was a brick building, of humble architectural character, with a small square tower at its western end. According to an inscription which was placed under the tower, the structure appears to have been enlarged since its first erection by "the pietie and bountie of divers honourable and worthie personages," and it was likewise repaired at considerable cost in the year 1772.

The interior consisted of a chancel, nave, and south aisle. On the south wall was the monument of William Platt, Esq. (the founder of "Platt's Gift" to the poor), who died in 1637. At a short distance from this was a monument to the memory of Dr. Lewis Atterbury, LL.D., who was preacher at Highgate Chapel. On the chapel being pulled down, this monument was removed to Hornsey Church, of which Dr. Atterbury had been Vicar.

Old Highgate Chapel stood till 1832, when it was pulled down and the present church erected.

HIGHGATE POND.

THE present pond, near the Gate-house, was formed and excavated by the hermits of the old chapel, and the gravel they dug out was used by them for forming the roadway leading down the hill into Holloway. Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," says, "that the old Highgate hermits, by thus making this pond, did a two-handed charity. By digging out a hollow on the top of the hill a place was made to catch water where it was wanted, and plenty of material was had to make the valley clean and passable in winter."

Remarkable Houses.

THERE are many interesting houses at Highgate whose histories are of some importance, not only to local inhabitants, but to the country at large. The following are brief accounts of a few of the more noted, either within, or upon the borders of St. Pancras parish:—

ARUNDEL HOUSE.

ARUNDEL HOUSE, famed in English history as the residence of the Earls of Arundel, was situated a little way up the hill, on the bank, past the well-known red-brick building, called "Cromwell House." It was partially pulled down in the year 1825, but the present building still bears the name, and the walls, which were left standing of the old house, bear evidences of great antiquity. The history of Arundel House is very interesting on account of two incidents which took place there—the death of Lord Bacon in 1626, and the imprisonment of the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart in 1611. Originally it was a building in the Elizabethan style, with spacious windows, commanding a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

Escape of Lady Arabella Stewart from Arundel House.

The unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart was a near relation to James I., and the crime for which she was imprisoned was that of marrying a man whom she loved in defiance of the Court to which she was allied. The King having issued an order for her arrest she was first taken to Sir Thomas Parry's House, at Lambeth, but was afterwards removed to Arundel House, from whence she managed to make her escape, but was retaken. The following interesting account of her flight and capture is taken from "Winwood's Memorials," in a letter from Mr. John Moore to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 8, 1611:—

"Lady Stuart having induced her keepers

into securitie by the fayre show of conformity and willingness to goe on her journey towards Durham, whether she was to be conducted by Sir James Croft, in the meantime disguised herself by drawing a great paire of French fashioned hose over her petticoates, and putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloake, russet bootes with red tops, with a rapier by her side, and walked forthe, between three and four of the clock, with Mr. Markham. After they had gone on foot a mile and a half, they reached a sorry inn, where one Crompton attended with their horses. She here grew very sick and fainte, so that the ostler who held the styrrup said, 'that gentleman would hardly hold out to London!' Yet, being on a good gelding, astride in the wonted fashion, the galloping of the horse brought the blood to her face, and so she rode towards Blackwall, where, arriving about nine o'clock, and finding there in readiness two men, and a gentleman and a chambermaid, with one boate full of Mr. Seymour's* and her trunks, and another boate for their persones, they hasted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far they bade the watermen rowe on towards Gravesend; there the watermen were desirous to lande, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Leigh, yet, being very tired by the way, they were faine to lie still at Tilbury whilst the oar-men went on lande to refresh themselves. They then proceeded to Leigh, and by that time the day had appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond, which was the French barque which waited for them. There the ladye would have lyen at anchor, expecting Mr. Seymour, but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted saile to seawarde.

"In the meanwhile, Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and a beard of black hair, walked alone, without suspicion, from his lodging, out of the great west door of the Tower, fol-

* Mr. Seymour was her husband, and he had concerted a plan of escape in a French vessel to Calais.

lowing a cart that had brought in some billets of woode. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharfe, by the warders of the south gate, where Rodney was ready with a boat to receive him. When they came to Leigh, and found that the ship was gone, the billows running very high, they hired a fisherman, for twentie shillings, to set them aboard a certain ship they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be the one they looked for, so they made for the nexte under saile, which was a shippe of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for fortie pounds to carry them to Calais, but whether or no the collier performed his bargain is not as yet knowne.

"On Tuesday, my Lord Treasurer having been advertized that the Ladye Arabella had made her escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set stricte garde over Mr. Seymour, which he promised to doe; but on coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he founde to his greate amazement that he was gone from thence one whole daye before. Now, the King and the Lords being much disturbed at this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent downe orders to a pinnace that laye in the Downes, to put presently to sea, first to Calais Road, and to saile up the roade towards Dunkirke. This pinnace, spying the aforesaid French barque, which laye lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to her, which, thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteene shot from the pinnace before she would strike her colours. In this barque was the ladye taken prisoner, and herselfe and her followers taken back towards the Tower, the Ladye Arabella not so sorry for her own restraint as she would be glade if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to feel much more than her owne."

This devoted and unfortunate lady ended her days on the 27th September, 1615, after being confined in the Tower four years, merely because of her great attachment to her husband. It was generally supposed she died of a broken heart. She was buried in the Royal Chapel at Westminster. Mr. Seymour, her husband, effected his escape, and afterwards became Marquis of Hertford.

Death of Lord Bacon at Arundel House.

Lord Bacon, Chancellor of Great Britain, died at Arundel House, Highgate, in 1626. His death occurred through the following

singular circumstance:—One day in the early part of the year just mentioned, he was taking an airing, accompanied by the King's physician, Dr. Winterborne. It was a very cold day, and snow lay upon the ground. On arriving at Highgate Hill a thought struck the philosopher that he would try an experiment as to whether flesh might not be preserved with snow as well as salt. Getting out of his coach, he, together with Dr. Winterborne, went into a poor woman's cottage at the bottom of the hill, and bought a hen, which, after killing, he stuffed with snow. The experiment, however, so chilled him that he could not return to his lodgings at Gray's Inn, but was obliged to seek a lodging at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate. There it is said, he was unfortunately placed in a damp bed which had not been used for a year or more, and which so aggravated his cold that he died a few days afterwards.

In confirmation of the above, an account appears in his life, written by Rowley, and published in 1671:—

"He died on the 9th of April, in the year 1626, in the early morning of the day celebrated for our Saviour's Resurrection, in the 60th year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, near London, to which place he had casually repaired about a week before; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accidentally accompanied by a great cold, where the deflection of rheume fell so plentifully upon his breast that he died of suffocation, and was buried in St. Michael's Church, at St. Alban's."

An interesting letter is preserved, which was written by Bacon to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, when lying ill at his house at Highgate:—

"To the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—

"I was likely to have the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself it succeeded exceedingly well; but in the journey (between London and Highgate), I was taken with such a fit of casting as I know not whether it was the stone, or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of all three.

"But when I came to your lordship's house I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodgings here, where

your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me ; which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your lordships house was happy to me ; and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome I am sure you give me to it. I know how unfit it is for me to write to your lordship with any other hands than my own ; but, by my troth, my fingers are so disjoynted with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen.

“FR. ST. ALBANS.”

It is well-known that this great man was accused of taking bribes in cases that depended before him when he was Chancellor, and upon his trial by the peers, he was convicted with four-and-twenty articles of bribery. An ample confession was signed by him, and an humble petition for a favourable sentence. He resigned the Great Seal on the 2nd of May, 1621, and the Lords, the next day, pronounced the following judgment :—“That the Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, should pay a fine of £40,000 ; that he should be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure ; that he should for ever be incapable of any office, place, or employment, in the State or Commonwealth ; that he should never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court.”

It is exceedingly painful to reflect upon the humiliation and ignominy which this profound philosopher,

“The greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind,” brought upon himself by his own unfortunate misconduct. It seems to point to the conclusion that neither learning nor wisdom, nor strength of genius is sufficient to overcome the wicked promptings and deceit of the human heart. The history of King Solomon, when he forsook that reliance upon the Creator, without which it is impossible to continue in the path of integrity and virtue, affords a striking parallel to that of the great English philosopher. The full sentence, however, upon Lord Bacon was not carried out. The fine was abandoned and a pension allowed him, which, however, was soon discontinued. He became very reduced, and applied for a situation at Eton, but was refused. His estates were sold to pay his debts, and ultimately he was obliged to go back to his old lodging in Gray's Inn, which he had inhabited when he was a barrister, and which was his only home at the time when he breathed his last at Highgate.

LAUDERDALE HOUSE.

LAUDERDALE HOUSE is situated on the left side of the hill-road, nearly opposite Cromwell House, and just on the borders of the parish. It is supposed to have been built about the year 1600, and for many years was the residence of the Earls of Lauderdale, eminent as statesmen and warriors. It is a fine old-fashioned mansion, its windows and terraces commanding extensive prospects of the metropolis. For some time it was the residence of Nell Gywnne, mistress of Charles II., and mother of the first Duke of St. Albans. A tradition is related concerning her while living there. She was very desirous of obtaining a title for her son, which she had for a long time being unsuccessful in gaining. The father, Charles II., being there one afternoon, it is stated she held the child out of the window, exclaiming, “If you do not do something for it, I will drop it.” He immediately replied, “Save the Earl of Burford !” The story, however, is scarcely probable, the incident being opposed to Nell Gywnne's general character, and it might possibly have originated in some striking but less melodramatic method of putting an alternative.

FITZROY HOUSE.

THE above house was formerly the seat of Lord Southampton, and situated in the park adjoining Caen Wood. Lord Southampton was the Lord of the manor of Tottenham, or Tottenham Court in whose family it still remains. In the rooms of the old mansion were portraits of Henry, the first Duke of Grafton, George, Earl of Euston, and Charles Duke of Grafton. The Duke of Buckingham resided at Fitzroy House in 1811. In 1828 the mansion was taken down and the park sub-divided and improved by the erection of several elegant villas.

HOLLY LODGE.

THE handsome villa, known as “Holly Lodge,” is situated at Highgate Rise. It was purchased by Sir Francis Burdett Coutts, the banker, and is now the residence of Miss Burdett Coutts, so well known for her benevolence. It was formerly the residence of the late Duke of St. Albans.

CROMWELL HOUSE.

MOST pedestrians who have ascended Highgate Hill have no doubt observed, near the turnpike-gate half way up, a red-brick edifice called "Cromwell House." It was built by the Protector, about the year 1630, as a residence for General Ireton, one of the commanders in his army, and who married his daughter. It is said that Cromwell himself resided there, but it is not certain. Tradition also states that there was a subterranean passage between it and the mansion-house at Highgate. Cromwell House was evidently built in accordance with the taste of its military occupant. The staircase, which is of handsome proportions, is richly decorated with carved oak figures, supposed to be of persons in the general's army, in their costumes. The ceiling of the drawing-room is ornamented with the arms of Ireton, and carved devices, emblematical of warfare, abound in all parts of the building.

THE "FOX AND CROWN."

OVER the door of this inn, situated in the road down the hollow of the hill leading to Kentish Town, many, no doubt, have noticed a royal gilt coat-of-arms. This privilege, if such it can be called, was obtained by an interesting incident. On July 6th, 1837, her Majesty, accompanied by the Duchess of Kent, was taking an airing round Highgate, when on arriving near to the "Fox and Crown" the horses suddenly became restive and set off at a fearful pace down the hill; fortunately, however, their progress was arrested by the prompt assistance of the innkeeper, and the royal party saved from an accident which threatened alarming consequences. The timely service thus rendered was rewarded by a license being granted to the landlord, Mr. Turner, to place the royal arms in front of his house, and, in addition, a suitable present was forwarded to him.

The Highgate. Oath.

"It's a custom at Highgate, that all who go through,
Must be sworn on the horns, sir; and so,
sir, must you.
Bring the horns, shut the door! now, sir,
take off your hat,
When you come here again, don't forget
to mind *that*."

THE ancient custom of swearing on the horns is almost extinct, but a few years ago the question, "Have you been sworn at Highgate?" was frequently asked by persons in all parts of the kingdom. An old inhabitant of Highgate says, "That in the coaching times, more than sixty years ago, upwards of eighty stage coaches would stop every day at the Red Lion Inn, and out of every five passengers three were sworn." On the drawing up of the coaches at the inn doors, most pressing invitations would be given to the company to alight, and after as many as possible could be collected in the parlour, the landlord, or somebody interested, would introduce the subject of being sworn at Highgate. A little artifice easily led to the detection of those who had not taken the oath, and as soon as the fact was ascertained, the

horns were usually brought in by the landlord, there being generally assembled a sufficient number of persons interested to enforce compliance. The horns, fixed on a pole five feet in length, were then placed upright upon the ground before the person to be sworn, who was required to take off his hat, and all present having done the same, the landlord, in a loud voice swore in the party proposed. The substance of the oath commenced by the landlord exclaiming: Upstanding and uncovered—silence! Take notice what I now say to you, for *that* is the first word of the oath—mind *that*! You must acknowledge me to be your adopted father, I must acknowledge you to be my adopted son. If you do not call me father, you forfeit a bottle of wine; if I do not call you son, I forfeit the same. And now, my good son, if you are travelling through this village of Highgate, and you have no money in your pocket, go call for a bottle of wine at any house you may think proper to enter, and book it to your father's score. If you have any friends with you, you may treat them as well; but if you have money of your own, you must pay for it yourself; for you must not say you have no money

when you have; neither must you convey your money out of your own pocket into that of your friends' pockets, for I shall search you as well as them, and if I find that you or they have any money, you forfeit a bottle of wine for trying to cheat and cozen your old father. You must not eat brown bread while you can get white, unless you like brown the best; nor must you drink small beer when you can get strong, unless you like small the best; you must not kiss the maid, while you can kiss the mistress, unless you like the maid the best, but sooner than lose a good chance, you may kiss them both. And now, my good son, I wish you a safe journey through Highgate and this life. I charge you, my good son, that if you know any in this company who have not taken this oath, you must cause them to take it, or make each of them forfeit a bottle of wine; for if you fail to do so, you will forfeit one yourself. So now, my son, God bless you; kiss the horns or a pretty girl, if you see one here, which you like the best, and so be free of Highgate!"

If a female was in the room she was generally saluted, if not the horns must be kissed, but the option was not allowed formerly. There was a peculiarity in the oath in connection with the pronoun *that* which generally resulted in the victimising of the strangers of some bottles of wine. As soon as the salutation was over and the wine drank, the landlord, addressing himself to his newly-made son said, "I have now to acquaint you with your privileges as a freeman of Highgate. If at any time you are going through Highgate and want to rest yourself, and you see a pig lying in the ditch you are quite at liberty to kick her out and take her place; but if you see three lying together, you must only kick out the middle one and lie between the two. God save the King!"

There was one circumstance essential for a freeman of Highgate to remember, that was, the first words of the oath—"Mind *that*!" If a person failed to remember the pronoun "*that*," he was subject to be resworn from time to time, and so often until he remembered to ejaculate "'*that*' is the first word of your oath—mind *that*!"

We believe the old crier of Highgate, Mr. Bell, still keeps a gown and wig to swear anybody in who wishes to perpetuate this curious custom, and some even now are made free of Highgate. The swearer in, whoever he may be, generally performs the ceremony in a black gown, mask, and wig, and is accompanied by a person who acts as clerk and carries the horns.

The custom was first practised at the Gate-House Inn, near the turnpike. As to its origin there are various accounts. One is, that it was devised by a landlord who had lost his license as a means of covering the sale of his liquors. Another, and a more probable account is, that Highgate, in days of yore, being the place nearest to London where cattle rested on their way from the north for sale in Smithfield, a large number of graziers were accustomed to put up at the Gate-House Inn for the night. These graziers formed a kind of fraternity, and generally endeavoured to secure the inn for their own accommodation on certain days. Finding it impossible, however, to exclude strangers who, like themselves, were travelling on business, from their society, they formed a kind of club, and made it imperative that those who wished to join them should, after taking an oath, bring an ox to the door, and those who did not kiss its horns they would exclude from their society.

The custom has been noticed by Lord Byron, in his "*Childe Harold*," and in a note attached to that work, he particularly alludes to the saving clause "*unless you like it best*." The following are his words in the first Canto:—

"Some o'er the Thanis row the ribbon'd fair,
Others along the safer turnpike fly:

Some Richmond Hill ascend, some send to
Ware,

And many to the steeps of Highgate
lie;

Ask ye, Boetian shades, the reason why?

'Tis to the worship of the solemn horn,

Grasp'd in the holy hand of mystery,

In whose dread name both man and maid
are sworn,

And consecrate the oath with draught
and dance till morn."

In 1826 there were 19 licensed public-houses in Highgate, and Mr. Hone, in his "*Every-day Book*," states the names of the inns, and the kind of horns they used, as follows:—1. The Gate-House Inn, staggs' horns; 2, the Mitre, staggs' horns; 3, the Green Dragon, staggs' horns; 4, the Red Lion and Sun, bullocks' horns; 5, the Bell, staggs' horns; 6, the Coach and Horses, rams' horns; 7, the Castle, rams' horns; 8, the Red Lion, rams' horns; 9, the Wrestler, staggs' horns; 10, the Bull, staggs' horns; 11, the Lord Nelson, staggs' horns; 12, the Duke of Wellington, staggs' horns; 13, the Crown, staggs' horns; 14, the Duke's Head, staggs' horns; 15, the Coopers' Arms, rams'

horns; 16, the Rose and Crown, staggs' horns; 17, the Angel, staggs' horns; 18, the Flask, rams' horns; 19, the Fox and Crown, rams' horns.

The above custom was especially encouraged by the villagers to the advantage of the landlord, and at the present time in nearly every one of the nineteen inns in Highgate, there are a pair of horns in the coffee-room or parlour attached to such. This large number of public houses for so small a village is accounted for by its having been the halting place of both the military and the stage-

coach traveller, either before entering or quitting the metropolis for the north. During the great war with France, when large bodies of military passed through the metropolis for abroad, an immense business was carried on, but now there is scarcely any trade attached to them. There is no spot in England, perhaps, where so many inns can be seen at one glance as at Highgate. On taking a stand at the Gate-House Inn the number of signposts and public-houses to be seen at a single view comprises nearly the whole of the above list.

St. Michael's Church.

PREVIOUS to the old chapel being pulled down the present church was erected on the site of the old mansion-house,* built by Sir William Ashhurst, Lord Mayor of London, in 1694. It is dedicated to St. Michael, and was consecrated by the Bishop of London upon the 8th of November, 1832. Mr. Lewis Vulliamy was the architect, and Messrs. Cubitt, the builders. Its whole cost was £10,000, £5,000 of which was given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the remainder raised by subscription amongst the inhabitants. Some delay took place in its consecration in consequence of Highgate being in the three different parishes of St. Pancras, Hornsey, and Islington, and though surrounded by the diocese of London, not included in it. Claims to jurisdiction over the church were set up by Pancras parish, as it had been built in that part of Highgate included within its boundary, but an Act of Parliament was passed, which made Highgate a separate ecclesiastical district.

St. Michael's Church is a most picturesque addition to the Cemetery, of which it seems to form a crowning appendage, enhancing the solemnity and beauty of the burial ground by its situation. It is an elegant specimen of the later English style, with an enriched tower and crocketed spire; the north elevation, especially, facing the Grove at Highgate, presents a peculiar and striking appearance. The interior also deserves much praise. At its south end, overlooking the Cemetery, there is a magnificent stained-glass window representing the Saviour and the apostles, the gift of the Rev. C. Mayo, many years

preacher in the old chapel. It was made at Rome; the border contains several coats-of-arms from the windows of the old chapel. The clock and bells, weighing upwards of nineteen cwt., were the gift of George Crayshaw, Esq. There is accommodation for 1,500 people, of which there is provided 500 free sittings for the poor. The appointment is in the gift of the Bishop of London, and is worth about £600 a-year. The present incumbent is the Rev. S. Dalton, M.A.

There are a few interesting monuments from the old chapel around the walls of the new church; but that perhaps most worthy of notice is the one erected to the eminent poet, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who during the later period of his life, resided at Highgate, in the house of Mr. Gillman, surgeon, Pemberton Row, where he died. Mr. Gillman, who was a very endeared friend of the poet's, did not long survive him, and a monument to his memory has been placed beside that of his companion, denoting, now they are gone to a better world, their lasting friendship while on earth. The following is the inscription on that of the poet's monument:—

Sacred to the Memory of
SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.
This truly great and good man resided for
The last nineteen years of his life
In this hamlet.
He quitted "the body of this death"
July 25, 1834,
In the sixty-second year of his age.
Of his learning and discursive genius,
His literary works are an imperishable record.

To his private worth,
His social and Christian virtues,
James and Ann Gillman,
The friends with whom he resided
During the above period, dedicate this tablet.

He died under the pressure of a long
And most painful disease.

His disposition was unalterably sweet and
[angelic.

He was an ever-enduring, ever-loving friend,
The gentlest and kindest teacher,
The most engaging home-companion.

"O framed for calmer times and nobler hearts!
O studious poet, eloquent for truth!
Philosopher, contemning wealth and death,
Yet docile, childish, full of light and love,
Here on this monumental stone thy friends
[inscribe thy worth."

"Reader! for the world mourn!
A light has passed away from the earth!
But for this pious and exalted Christian
Rejoice, and again I say unto you rejoice."

The other inscription is as follows:—

Sacred to the Memory of

JAMES GILLMAN,

Surgeon,

For many years an eminent practitioner in
This place.

The Friend of S. T. Coleridge.

His Christian faith has, we humbly trust,
through the merits of the Saviour, ob-
tained the promise of a better inheritance.

"He asked and hoped through Christ—
Do thou the same."

Sir Roger Chomley's School.

SIR ROGER CHOMLEY'S Grammar School was founded in 1565 for the purpose of educating forty poor boys belonging to Highgate, Kentish Town, and Finchley. The present Grammar School is a substantial brick Gothic building near the gate, and has the following inscription on a tablet on the west front:—

"SR. ROGER CHOMLEY, KNT. FOUNDED IN 1565. THIS BUILDING ERECTED IN 1819."

Sir Roger Chomley was Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and probably obtained the property on which he founded the school by a grant from the crown. The pious and benevolent old knight, after performing many good works, finally settled at Hornsey, and there he spent his latter days in literary retirement. Among the rules and laws made by the governors for the regulation of the institution, a decree made in the reign of Elizabeth, a few years after the knight's death, is still extant. The following are some extracts:—

"First—We order and decree, according to the will, mind, and intent of the said Sir Roger Chomley, Knight, founder of the Free School, that there be an honest and learned schoolmaster, appointed and placed to teach the scholars coming to this Free School;

which schoolmaster that shall be so placed be a graduate of good, sober, and honest conversation, and no light person, who shall teach and instruct young children, as well in their A, B, C,* as in other English books, and to write, and also in their grammar, and that without taking any money or reward otherwise than is hereafter expressed and declared.

"Second,—We will and order that any schoolmaster that shall be placed to teach in the free school shall *say and read openly* at the chapel at Highgate next adjoining the said free school the service set forth by the Queen's Majesty in the form following,—that is to say, every Sunday and holiday, morning and evening prayers; every Wednesday and Friday, morning prayers with the Litany; and on Saturday and every festival day in the year, evening prayers.

"We order that the master for the time being shall receive quarterly for his wages, fifty shillings, also his dwelling-house, rent free. That he shall have besides two acres of ground, lately enclosed out of Highgate Common, with the garden and orchard ad-

* The common alphabet is not here meant, but a Black Letter Book called the "*A, B, C, with the Catechism*,"—that is to say, an instruction to be taught and learned of every child before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.

joining the chapel, and shall also have yearly out of the wood of the Lord Bishop of London at Hornsey, eight loads of fire-wood, provided the said firewood be burnt within the house, and not sold away."

This decree was signed by Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, Jasper Chomley, Roger Martin, &c., on the 7th December, 1571, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth.

The yearly funds of the school at the time

of its foundation were only £10 13s. 4d., but by various benevolent donations and the increased value of property, they soon increased to a considerable amount. By an account furnished by the Rev. Weldon Champneys (the then Vicar of St. Pancras) in 1800 to Mr. Lyssons, author of a work entitled the "Environs of London," the moneys vested in the governors of Highgate Grammar School were as follows :—

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Donors' Names.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Value in 1800.</i>
1562	The Founder.	(Messuages in the parishes of St. Martin, Ludgate, and St. Michael, Crooked Lane) . . .	£40 per annum.
		Lands at Highgate . . .	£99 do.
1580	John Dudley.	(Rent tenements at Stoke Newington) . . .	£2 do.
1587	Jasper Chomley	(Rent charge, manor of Renters, Hendon) . . .	£2 6s 8d do.
1637	William Platt	(Rent charge, house at Kentish Town) . . .	£10 do.
		Money in the Funds, &c. . .	£140 do.

The latter included a grant of £60 a-year by Edward Pauncefort, Esq., an inhabitant of Highgate. The income is now greatly increased.

In 1824 new rules were made by the governors, and the statutes remodelled as follows :—

"The schoolmaster to be a graduate in holy orders, the course of instruction to include the Latin and Greek languages, and the principles of the Christian religion according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

"Forty scholars to be admitted by the governors out of Highgate, Kentish Town, Holloway, Hornsey or Finchley.

"Each boy on admission to pay 21s. towards the library.

"The qualification of boys before admission to be, that they shall read and write, and understand the two first rules of arithmetic.

"The masters and scholars to regularly attend divine service."

It is understood that as the funds of the institution advance, the governors will found exhibitions for scholars at £50 each for four years, at either Oxford or Cambridge, so that at no very distant period, it may be expected to rival the best public schools. It is almost needless to say, that the boys now selected are not those of the poorer classes, but chiefly belong to the gentry and wealthy tradesmen in the neighbourhood.

Highgate Green.

THERE are few spots upon the summit of Highgate Hill possessing more interest than Highgate Grove—once known as Highgate Green, and the resort of the villagers for promenading in fine weather. It was once covered with a row of splendid elm trees, a few of which are still remaining and exhibit signs of great age. To fully realize the character attached to this locality, it must be borne in mind that the Grove, or Green, before the "Gate" was erected, and the road cut over the hill to Finchley, terminated the public road northward, all beyond being the "Bishop's Wood," a large tract of which still remains, and which borders the road on the right hand side, along Hampstead Lane, from Highgate to the "Spaniards'" Tavern. That it used to be a resort for the London folk in the summer, for purposes of recreation and dancing, we have many evidences. In an old comedy, entitled "Jack Drume's Entertainment," (1601,) on the introduction of the Whitsun Morris dance, the following song is given :—

"Skip it and frisk it nimbly, nimbly ;
Tickle it, tickle it lustily !
Strike up the tabour for the wenches' favour ;
Tickle it, tickle it lustily !

"Let us be seene, on Highgate Greene,
To dance for the honour of Holloway ;
Since we are come hither, let's spare for no leather,
To dance for the honour of Holloway."

An interesting incident occurred in connection with Hogarth, at one of the inns which formerly stood near the Green. One Sunday, during his apprenticeship, he set out, with two or three companions, on an excursion to Highgate Green. The weather being hot they went into a public house, where they had not been long before a quarrel arose between two persons in the same room, when one of the disputants having struck the other on the head with a quart-pot and cut him very much, caused him to make such a hideous grin, that it presented

Hogarth with too humourous a subject to be overlooked. He drew out his pencil and produced on the spot one of the most ludicrous figures imaginable, and what rendered the sketch more valuable was, that it exhibited an exact likeness of the man, with the portrait of his antagonist and the figures, in connection with the principal persons, gathered around him.

In the vicinity of Highgate Green formerly stood Dorchester House, once the residence of the Marquis of Dorchester. In the year 1685, one William Blake, a woollen-draper in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, set on foot a scheme to establish a hospital at Highgate, for the maintenance of fatherless boys and girls. He spent £5,000 by purchasing Dorchester House to carry out his plan, and published a very rare book, called "Silver Drops, or Serious Things," being a kind of exhortation to ladies to encourage the undertaking. The boys were to be taught painting, gardening, accounts and navigation, and to wear a uniform of blue lined with yellow. The girls to be taught to read, write, sew, starch, raise paste, and dress. The allowance of the housekeeper per day was one bottle of wine, three of ale, six rolls, and two dishes of meat. Subscriptions were collected and several children admitted. It was called the "Ladies' Charity School." At one time (1667) there were thirty-six boy scholars ; and in 1675 the books belonging to the school consisted of two English, eighteen Latin, and three Greek. The founder, William Blake, was, as will be imagined, rather a quaint character. He carried on his business at the sign of the "Golden Boy," at the corner of Maiden Lane, leading into Bedford Street, Covent Garden. He was exceedingly pious and earnest in the Protestant cause, and the motive which led him to found the school, was for the purpose of diffusing the Reformed religion among the young. It did not, however, last long after his death, although it had the support of several ladies of rank. His book, "Silver Drops," had a frontispiece engraving of Dorchester House, as well as his own mansion at Highgate, and it also contained a number of notes, in most of which

he lamented the want of encouragement, and complained that, by some people, he was treated as a madman.

THE HIGHGATE VOLUNTEERS OF 1801.

ON the occasion of Napoleon's contemplated invasion, the inhabitants of Highgate immediately raised and supported during the war, a battalion of three hundred men, commanded by a field officer with the regular compliment of captains, subalterns, non-commissioned officers, &c. The government provided the adjutants, the arms, and ammunition, but the clothing and all other expenses were defrayed by the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants. The colours were presented by the Countess of Mansfield, and the corps reviewed in 1805 by King

George III., at Harrow Weald, and at subsequent periods by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, General Fox, and others, on Finchley Common, on all of which occasions the commanding generals expressed their thanks for the zeal displayed and their approbation of the efficient state of discipline the corps had attained, and the perfect manner in which they performed their various duties. Their place of muster was most frequently the Grove, near Highgate Church, and their place of exercise Highgate Common, which on fine summer evenings, used to be thronged by the fair sex to witness their various evolutions. A good band was maintained, which greatly enlivened all the proceedings of the corps. The colours of the corps, were lately in the possession of Mr. Prickett, auctioneer of Highgate. Only two or three of the 300 Volunteers of 1801 are now alive to personally compare the present with the past.

Mansfield House.

THIS splendid building, the seat of the Earl of Mansfield, is situated within the parish, at Highgate. It was purchased of the Earl of Bute, in 1755, by the first Earl of Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The wood surrounding the mansion is supposed, and with every probability, to be part of the remains of the ancient forest of Middlesex. When Lord Mansfield first entered upon the possession of the estate, the mansion was small and not of a very elegant description. The principal alterations were effected by the late Earl under the direction of Messrs. Adams and Saunders, architects. It is a noble structure of the Ionic order, exhibiting two handsome fronts, the principal of which towards the north, has two projecting wings and enriched entablature. The southern front commands a fine view of the gardens, and a terrace walk ranges along the whole length. The various apartments are of very fine proportions. The walls and ceiling of the music-room were painted by Julius Ibbetson; in different panels being introduced representations of various operations of agriculture performed by children, from designs by Claude of Lorraine; and interspersed are beautiful views of North Wales. In the library are original

paintings of Pope, Garrick, and Betterton; likewise a full-length portrait of the first Earl by Martin and a bust of him by Nollekens. The ceiling of the library is coved and divided into panels delicately stuccoed, and ornamented with paintings by Zucchi.

The grounds around the mansion are very fine and of great extent. The undulations are gentle yet sheltering, and a fine serpentine walk displays to the visitor the various beauties of this diversified retreat, while the vistas are judiciously formed, casually revealing land unconnected with the estate, but adding to its picturesque and rural beauty. There are several spacious sheets of water, and some cedars of Lebanon of considerable height, one of them having been planted by the late Lord Chief Justice with his own hands.

The beautiful sheets of water connected with this estate, known as the "Seven Ponds," include several of the reservoirs which have long supplied a considerable district of the parish with water. The ponds were until lately leased by the Hampstead Water Works Company, which has since become incorporated with the New River Company.

BELLSIZE HOUSE AND PARK.

BELLSIZE PARK is not situated in this parish, but on the borders of the adjoining parish of Hampstead. It is however, a place of much local interest, and so well known that a few remarks upon it will not be out of place. Before the dissolution of the monasteries it was in possession of the Dean of Westminster, but after that was leased by Sir Thomas Wroth, Lieutenant of the Tower for twenty years.

In 1660 the lease of the Bellsizes estate was renewed to Daniel O'Neale, Esq., of the Bedchamber of Charles II., who married Catherine, the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Wootton, whose son was created a baron of the realm under the title of Lord Wootton. This Lord Wootton made Bellsizes his principal seat, and lived there from 1673 to 1681. In the *True Protestant Mercury* paper of October 15, 1681, there is an account given of Bellsizes House being one night attacked by highwaymen and burglars:—

"London, Oct. 18.—Last night eleven or twelve highway robbers came on horseback to the house of Lord Wootton at Hampstead, and attempted to enter therein, breaking down part of the wall and the gate; but there being four or five domestics within the house, they very courageously fired several muskets and a blunderbuss upon the thieves, which gave an alarm to one of the lord's tenants, a farmer, who dwelt not far off, who thereupon went immediately to the village, and raised the inhabitants, who going towards the houses, which were about a mile off, it is thought the robbers hearing thereof, and withal finding the business difficult, they all made their escape. It is judged they had notice of my lord's absence from his house, and likewise of a great booty which was therein, which put them upon the desperate attempt."

After the death of Lord Wootton in 1683, the mansion was occupied by a succession of distinguished tenants, amongst whom may be mentioned the Right Hon. Spencer Percival, Prime Minister of England. In the year 1720 Bellsizes House was opened as a place of public entertainment, and continued so for between thirty and forty years, being on several occasions honoured by the presence of royalty, and during the season it became the daily resort of the nobility and gentry. It soon became very notorious, and a class of entertainments, similar to those exhibited at Ranelagh and Vauxhall, were provided for the company.

The following extracts from newspapers of the period will perhaps give a better idea of their character than any detailed description:—In a publication called *Mist's Journal* of April 26, 1720, it states, "Whereas that the ancient and noble house near Hampstead, commonly called Bellsizes House, is now taken and fitted up for the entertainment of gentlemen and ladies during the whole summer season, the same will be opened with an uncommon solemnity of music and dancing. This undertaking will exceed all of the kind hitherto known in London, commencing every day at six in the morning, and continuing till eight at night, all persons being privileged to admittance without necessity of expense."

A hand-bill of the amusements of Bellsizes House, in the possession of Dr. Combe, of Hampstead, and having a print of the old mansion prefixed, announces Bellsizes to be open for the season, and states that "the park, wilderness, and garden, being wonderfully improved and filled with a variety of birds, which compose a melodious and delightful harmony. Persons inclined to walk and to divert themselves may breakfast on tea or coffee as cheap as at their own chambers. Twelve stout fellows, completely armed, are always at hand, to patrol timid females or others who consider such escort necessary, between Bell-sizes and London."

On July 15, 1721, the Prince of Wales and suite paid it a visit, and dined at Bellsizes House, attended by several of the nobility. They were entertained with several games at hunting, with which they expressed themselves pleased, and at their departure they were very liberal to the servants.

At the date of the above visit, the house was kept by a man named James Howell, who was nicknamed and known to his frequenters as the "Welsh Ambassador." This Welsh Ambassador, as he was called, had races by footmen in velvetens and silk fleshings, and on one occasion he gave a plate of 10 guineas to be run for by eleven of these "John Thomas's." Under Howell's management, however, it became the scene of much debauchery and gambling, and the proprietor himself appears to have been not a very creditable character, having for some crime or other once been incarcerated in Newgate. In a poem written upon Bellsizes in 1722, the following lines in reference to Howell's proceedings are commented upon:—

"But since Howell hath obtained his liberty
By Habeas, the wicked may see,
Whom he by advertisements now invites
To visit him amidst his false delights,

Assuring them that thirty men shall be
Upon the road for their security ;
But whether one-half of this rabble guard,
(Whilst t'others, half asleep on watch and
ward),
Don't rob the people they pretend to save,
I to the opinion of the reader leave."

The sentiments expressed do not certainly
say much for Howell's offer of guarding
people to town.

After a short period Bellsizes House became
an academy for dissipation and lawlessness to
a degree that would not be tolerated in
the lowest tea-garden of the lowest public-
house of the present day, and accordingly it
is stated that on June 7, 1723, "the Court
of Justices at the General Quarter Sessions,
have ordered the High Constable of the Di-
vision, to issue his precepts to the petty con-
stables and head boroughs of the parish of
Hampstead, to prevent all unlawful gaming,
riots, &c., at Bellsizes House and the great
room at Hampstead." The same year a
pamphlet was published by a person who
entitled himself a "Serious Person of Quality,"
and he commenced his work by giving a brief

description of the doings at Bellsizes in the
following verse:—

"This house, which is a nuisance to the land,
Doth near a park and handsome garden
stand,
Fronting the road, betwixt a range of trees,
Which is perfumed with a Hampstead
breeze ;
And on each side the gate a grenadier—
However, they cannot speak, think, see or
hear—
But why there's posted there no mortal
knobs,
Unless it be to frighten jackdaws and
crows,
For rooks they cannot scare, who there re-
sort
To make of most unthoughtful bubbles
sport."

Bellsizes House continued open as late as
the year 1745, as a place of public entertain-
ment, soon after which it again fell into
private hands, and now the park is mapped
out with roads, and will soon be covered
with suburban villas.

Regent's Park

AND ITS VICINITY.

ONE third of the Regent's Park is in the
parish of St. Pancras, the line of divi-
sion passing through the Zoological
Gardens and along its eastern side to Port-
land Gate. It covers an area of 150 acres,
and was named after the Regent (subse-
quently George IV.) It was first commenced
in the year 1812, and laid out from designs
by Mr. James Morgan, by whom also the
principal terraces were erected. The south
side of the park along the Euston Road is
about half a mile in length; the east-side,
from Portland Crescent to Gloucester Gate,
three-quarters of a mile. The ornamental
sheet of water on the west side of the park
is situated in the valley through which run
the little rivulet or brook called "Aylbourne,"
which took its rise from the bottom of Barrow
Hill, and which gave the name to the adjoining
parish of Marylebone. The terraces
around this park are remarkable for their
architectural grace and beauty, and add

greatly to the attractions of the neighbour-
hood, especially those of Hanover, Munster,
Cornwall, Gloucester, Cumberland, Chester,
Cambridge, and Ulster Terraces. There are
several handsome villas in the enclosure of
the park, that of Hertford House, the seat of
the Marquis of Hertford, being among the
more noticeable and imposing. A ringed
enclosure in the centre contains the gardens
of the Royal Botanic Society, founded for
the purpose of study and experiment in that
art, and in which the celebrated flower shows
are annually held.

The Regent's Park consists of the grounds
attached to the Old Manor House of Maryle-
bone, and called Marylebone Park. As it
may be interesting to know how the park
was preserved for the use of the people, a
short history of the Manor House and Park
will not be out of place. The Manor House
stood upon the spot where Devonshire Mews
is now built, and during the time the estate

was in possession of the crown it is said to have been used as one of the royal palaces. It was taken down in the year 1791. By a drawing of Rooker's, formerly in possession of John White, Esq., of Devonshire Place, it appears to have retained some traces of the architecture of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but the greater part was rebuilt at a later period. Behind the Mansion House, in the vicinity of Devonshire Mews, stood the once famous Marylebone Tea Gardens. In the reign of Queen Anne they were noted for their bowling-green, and were then much frequented by the nobility and gentry of that day.

"Some dukes at Marylebone bowl time away,"

wrote Lady Wortley Montagu in one of her poems, and for a long time they kept up their reputation as a resort for many of the aristocracy. The gardens were first opened in 1737, one shilling being the price of admission, for which an equivalent was received in the way of refreshment. The musical department was for some time under the direction of Dr. Arnold, and first-class singers were engaged to entertain the company. About the year 1740 they were opened for public breakfasts and evening concerts; fireworks, after the manner of Ranelagh and Vauxhall were also displayed, and in 1772, prepared by Signor Torre, was exhibited a representation of Mount Etna in a state of eruption, and which attracted much attention. Like most of the same description of places, however, after a time Marylebone Gardens gradually degenerated and grew into disrepute, the company becoming exceedingly low and licentious; indeed, so much did they become noted as a resort for bad characters, that Gay in his "Beggars' Opera" makes them the scene of one of Macheath's debaucheries. In 1778 the gardens were shut, and the site let out to builders. In 1760 it is recorded that "the ambassador from the Emperor of Russia and other Muscovites rode through the City to Marylebone Park and there hunted at their leisure."

The Manor House was given by King James to Edward Forest, Esq., but the park he preserved in his own right, and it continued in the possession of the crown till the year 1646, when King Charles by letters patent, dated at Oxford, May 6, granted it to Sir George Strode and Squire Wandesford as a security for a debt of £2,318 10s. 9d., due to them for supplying arms and ammunition during the troublous times. After the King's death, however, and when Cromwell was in power, and the crown lands generally sold by the government, Marylebone Park, without any

regard to the claims of the two gentlemen above-mentioned, was sold to Sir John Spencer, of London, on behalf of Colonel Thomas Harrison's Regiment of Dragoons, on whom it was settled for their pay; and Sir John Ipsley was appointed Ranger by the authority of the Protector. The purchase money was £13,215 6s. 8d., including £130 for the deer (124 in number of several sorts), and £1,774 8s. for timber, exclusive of 2,976 trees marked out for the royal navy. On the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, Sir George Strode and Mr. Wandesford (the two gentlemen to whom the former king had granted its possession) were re-instated in their possession of the park, which they held till their debt was discharged. The park was then leased by several individuals, the Duke of Portland being the last lessee, his lease having expired in the year 1811. It then became again the property of the crown, and for some time it was debated by the Government whether they should lease it out again or make it into a park for the people. In the year 1811 Mr. White, of Devonshire Place, suggested a plan to the surveyor of crown lands, "proposing that only the lower part of the site of Marylebone Park should be built upon, that the buildings should terminate northward with a grand crescent of half a mile span, in the centre of which, fronting the end of Harley Street, should be erected the new parish church of Marylebone; and that the remainder of the ground, which was ill-adapted for building on, should be restored to its original state and converted into a park three miles in circumference, with walks, drives, &c."

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. KATHERINE.

A LITTLE to the south of Gloucester Gate is a very interesting-looking ecclesiastical structure called the Church and Hospital of St. Katherine. It has dwellings on either side of the structure for brothers and sisters of the Hospital, as they are called, together with apartments for the chaplain and other officers. This structure was erected in the place of the ancient foundation of St. Katherine, near the Tower of London, which was taken down in 1827, to make room for the spacious docks erected on its site (the St. Katherine's Docks). The new church in the Regent's Park is of the Gothic order in the style of the early part of the fifteenth century; the west front of Winchester Cathedral being the model from whence the architecture was adopted.

Mr. Poynder was the architect and designer of the building. The beautiful stalls of the old church have been carefully transferred to the new, as well as a curiously-carved pulpit given in 1621 by Sir Julius Cæsar, a master of the Hospital. It has six sides, with striking views of the hospital and its gates, as they existed in the days of the artist. When the St. Katherine's Hospital was removed an Act of Parliament had to be procured, and upwards of 800 houses were pulled down to make room for the construction of the spacious docks.

The charity is one of the most ancient in London, it having been founded as early as the year 1148 by Matilda of Boulogne, wife of King Stephen, together with the home and office of master, a valuable appointment in the gift of the Queen or the Queen-dowager, (if there be one). Eleanor, wife of King Edward I., was a second foundress, and she appointed a master, three brethren chaplains, three sisters, ten poor women, and six poor clerks, with sustenance for all. She gave to the Hospital the manor of Carlton in Wiltshire and the manor of Upchurch in Kent. Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III., founded a chantry in connection with the hospital, and gave to the foundation land of the yearly value of ten pounds. It was then called a free chapel, a college, and hospital for poor sisters, and several Queens of England afterwards became benefactors. On the 1st of December, 1527, there was a noble guild or fraternity founded in the Hospital of St. Katherine to the honour of St. Barbara. It was governed by a master and three wardens. It had two royal founders, Henry VIII. and his first wife Queen Katherine, and amongst its brethren and sisters comprised Cardinal Wolsey, besides dukes and duchesses, earls, knights, and esquires in abundance. In Maitland's "History of London," the order and mode of admission, and the rules and benefits attached to the fraternity is stated as follows:—

"Whosoever by the Grace of God is disposed to enter into the blessed fraternity of St. Barbara, founded in St. Katherine's Church, must pay to the said fraternity the sum of *x. s. ijd.* sterling at his first entering, or else within the space of six years, that is to say at his first entering *xliid.* and every quarter following *ivd.*, until the whole be paid in money, plate, or other honest stuff. At the first payment he or she shall receive a letter with the seal of the Warden, which Warden shall receive his name, and bring it to the altar of Barbara in St. Katherine's Church, and there

be registered, and daily prayed for by name. And when the last payment is made then the said brother or sister shall receive a letter with the common seal of the fraternity, whereby he shall have a surety of living; that is to say, if ever the said brother or sister fall into decay of worldly goods, as by sicknesses, hurt by the war, or meet accident upon land or sea, or by any other means fall into poverty, then if he bring the said letter, signed and sealed with the said common seal, the Master and all the company shall receive him favourably, and there he shall have every week *xliid.*, house-room, and bedding, with a woman to wash his clothes and dress his meat; and so to continue year by year and week by week during his life, by the grace of Almighty Jesus.

"Given this 1st day of December, 1527. Sir William Skevington, Knight, Master; William Uxley and Robert Fisher, Wardens."

The same authority states for whom the priests and brethren should pray in reference to this guild:—

"Of your devout charity ye shall pray for all the brethren and sisters of the guild of our glorious Saviour, Christ Jesus, and of the blessed Virgin and Martyr, St. Barbara, founded in the St. Katherine's Church next to the Tower of London. And first ye shall pray for the good estate of our Sovereign Lord and excellent Prince King Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine, founders of the said guild and brotherhood, and brother and sister of the same.

"Also ye shall pray for the good estate of Thomas Wolsey, of the title of St. Cecil of Rome, Priest, Cardinal, and *Legatus* or *latere* to our holy father the Pope.

"Also for the good estate of the Duke of Buckingham, and my ladye his wife; the Duke of Norfolk and my ladye his wife; the Earl of Shrewsbury and my ladye his wife; and for all ladyes and brethren of the same.

"Also for Sir Richard Chomley, Knight; Sir William Compton, Knight, and for all brothers and sisters that be alive, and for the souls of all brothers and sisters that be dead. And for the Master and Wardens of the said guild. And for the more special grace let every man say a paternoster and an ave.

"And God save the King, the Master, Wardens, and all brothers and sisters of the same."

Many liberties were granted to this hospital, such as permission to hold a fair on Tower Hill the day after the feast of St.

James's, &c. At the dissolution of the religious houses the church was surrendered into the hands of Henry VIII. on the 4th of February, 1531. The charity, however, was not wholly confiscated, the hospital and church being allowed to remain, with many of its privileges, and there it continued till it was removed to its present site.

PRIMROSE HILL.

THE road along the east side of Primrose Hill divides the parish of St. Pancras from those of Hampstead and Marylebone. It is, however, a place so much frequented, that a few remarks concerning it will be acceptable. The name "Primrose Hill" is no modern appellation, it having been known to Londoners for a long time past. Its neighbourhood was formerly noted on account of the quantity of wild primroses which grew there, as well as in a lane adjoining called "Primrose Lane." The place is noted in history for the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, or rather, perhaps, for his body having been found there, after he had been murdered elsewhere. All the historians of the period notice this fact, as it was one of the most mysterious parts of the machinery of the *Popish Plot*, the perpetrators of the assassination having never been discovered. The place where the corpse was found is described in a letter to Mr. Miles Prance in 1681:—

"As to the place, it was in a ditch on the south side of Primrose Hill, surrounded with divers closes, fenced in with high mounds and ditches; no road near, only some deep dirty lanes, made only for the conveniency of driving cows, and such like cattle in and out of the grounds; and these very lanes not coming near 500 yards of the place, and impossible for any man on horseback with a dead corpse before him at midnight to approach, unless gaps were made in the mounds, as the constable and his assistants found by experience when they came on horseback thither."

The hill called Barrow Hill is supposed to have been the scene of some battle.

THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

MORE than half these beautiful gardens are in the parish of St. Pancras. They are, however, so well known to local residents that a very short account will be all that is neces-

sary. The Zoological Society of London was founded in the year 1825, and have expended upwards of a quarter of a million of money up to this date in the support of the gardens. The source of income is derived from the subscriptions of the members or fellows of the society and the admission fees from visitors, the receipts from both sources now realising about £10,000 per annum. Formerly, the admission to the gardens was only to be obtained by a member's order, in addition to the usual entrance fee, but afterwards the public were admitted upon the payment of one shilling, without the necessity of procuring an order. Lately it has been further reduced to sixpence on Mondays, such arrangement being a decided success. The gardens in their present condition, are unquestionably the finest zoological collection in Europe, there being nearly 1,400 specimens from all quarters of the globe. Among the principal objects of interest is the aquarium, the reptile house, and the carnivora terrace. The society, in their management, keep all the animals in a state as nearly approaching to their natural habits as possible; the birds in extensive aviaries; the aquatic animals in large reservoirs of water; and the reptiles are furnished with blankets and other warm appliances to keep them from the cold. Beavers and otters are accommodated with water-grots wherein to retire when they have had a satiety of bathing; monkeys and bears are supplied with poles for the gratification of their climbing propensities; and the larger animals, such as the elephant and the giraffes, are allowed the fullest scope of enjoyment compatible with their safe keeping. The grounds are laid out with great taste, and during the summer season present a brilliant display of flowers and shrubs transplanted from the gardens of the Horticultural Society.

THE COLOSSEUM.

THIS popular place of exhibition is within the parish. It was first projected by Mr. Horner for the purpose of exhibiting a panoramic view of London and its suburbs taken from the top of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was commenced in the year 1824, but not thrown open for public exhibition till 1829. The delay in perfecting the building ruined Mr. Horner, but the committee, upon whom the management devolved, proceeded to complete it. Mr. Decimus Burton was the architect. It presents externally a Greek Doric portico of noble dimensions and a dome 126 feet in

diameter, of which 75 feet is entirely composed of glass. Its shape is polygonal, having 16 facings, each 25 feet in circumference. The panorama covers more than 40,000 square feet, or nearly an acre of canvass, and may, for its fidelity to the original, be almost considered a photograph of the metropolis at

the time it was taken. A painting of Paris, of equal magnitude, is now exhibiting, and the Swiss cottage, arabesque conservatories, and a stalactite cavern are among the other attractions. It is at present under the management of the talented Dr. Bachhoffner.

The Veterinary College,

CAMDEN TOWN.

THE above institution, consisting of an academy for studying the diseases of cattle, and an infirmary for horses, is situated in College Street, Camden Town. It is the finest and most useful institution of the kind in Britain, and pupils from all parts of the country come thither to be instructed. In the year 1784 a committee of gentlemen met for the purpose of establishing a college for studying the diseases of cattle, and advertisements in the public papers announcing the intention of such committee, appeared the same year. Seven years after, in 1791, the present institution was founded by Mr. Sain Bell. From an account of the college, printed by order of the governors, it states, "the grand object of this institution has been, and is, to form a school of veterinary science, in which the anatomical structure of quadrupeds of all kinds, horses, cattle, sheep, dogs, &c., the diseases to which they are all subject, and the remedies proper to be applied, might be investigated and regularly taught, in order that by this means, the enlightened practices of those whose whole study has been devoted to the veterinary science and all its branches, may be gradually disposed all over the king-

dom. For this purpose pupils are taken into the college, who, in addition, to the lectures and instruction of the professor, and the practice of the stables under his superintendence, are admitted to medical and anatomical lectures. Of these pupils many are established in various parts of the country, practising with great benefit. In order, however, that no doubt may arise respecting the sufficient qualification of pupils upon leaving the college, they are strictly examined by the medical committee (which consists of the most eminent surgeons in the metropolis) from whom they receive a proper certificate if they are found to have acquired a sufficient knowledge in the various branches of the veterinary science, and are competent to practice with advantage to the public."

There is a theatre for dissection, where lectures are judiciously delivered; a large apartment is provided with numerous anatomical preparations, for the complete illustration of subjects discussed by the lecturers. There is likewise a forge for the shoeing of horses on the most approved principles, and several paddocks are attached to the collegiate buildings, and also an infirmary.

St. John the Baptist.

KENTISH TOWN.

KENTISH-TOWN, or Cantelows, or Cantilupe Town is the most ancient hamlet in the parish. The neighbourhood of the Old Church in the Pancras Road up to the commencement of the present century was but very thinly populated; indeed, all but deserted. The village of Kentish Town was inhabited long before Somers Town or Camden Town came into existence, the first building in Camden Town scarcely dating further back than 1750. Divine service, moreover, used to be performed at Kentish Town every Sunday, while at the Old Church it was performed but once a month. The vicarage-house was also formerly situated at Kentish Town.

The old chapel at Kentish Town is said to have been founded by two brothers, Walter and Thomas de Cantilupe, who lived in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. Norden, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, mentions a chapel of ease as existing in Kentish Town, but without describing it as a structure of modern erection, thus leaving it to be inferred that a place of worship existed in this part of the parish before his time. Indeed, there is other evidence to prove that such was the case. In Moll's "History of Middlesex," 1724, the following remarks are made concerning the origin of Kentish Town :—

"You may, from Hampstead, see in the vale between it and London, a village, vulgarly called Kentish Town, which we mention chiefly by reason of the corruption of the name, the true one being Cantilupe Town, of which that great family were anciently owners. One or both of them built a chapel here. They were men of great account in the reigns of King John, Henry III., and Edward I. Walter de Cantilupe was Bishop of Worcester, 1236 to 1265; Saint Thomas de Cantilupe was Bishop of Hereford, 1275 to 1282.

Thomas was canonized for a saint in the thirty-fourth year of Edward's reign. The inheritance at length devolving upon the sisters, the very name became extinct. Kentish Town is now a prebend of St. Paul's."

The chapel built by these brothers was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The old building was pulled down in the latter part of the last century, and the present church erected higher up the Kentish Town Road. It was a neat brick structure of unpretending appearance, and stood upon the site of the private residence of Mr. E. Morgan, corn-dealer, of Old Chapel Row, whose family has been connected with the hamlet for 200 years. Part of the wall of the old chapel is still remaining, and may be seen in the rear of the above gentleman's premises. Mr. Morgan informed the writer of this work that he had in his private residence some interesting souvenirs of the old chapel made from the pews and communion-table which once belonged to the same, and which he highly prizes.

The present church was erected in 1783, and there have been several additions and improvements made since that date, the expenses for which were defrayed by a fund arising from the rental of the church lands of St. Pancras, aided by a brief. It is a pleasing structure of the pointed style of architecture. The interior is neat and commodious. There is a fine-stained glass window over the communion-table, and others of great beauty at the sides. Among the persons interred in the vaults of this church may be mentioned that of Grignon, the celebrated engraver, who died in 1810, at the age of 93. For some time previous to his decease he lost his sight, and this melancholy privation was rendered more bitter by his extreme poverty. A subscription for his relief in some measure softened the last steps of his approach to the grave.

Institutions, &c.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL.

THIS institution, one of the most useful in the kingdom, is situated in the northern part of the parish at Haverstock Hill. It is a very elegant building, and commands a fine prospect of the country. There are various premises detached from the main building in which the children are taught useful occupations, and the playgrounds are furnished with gymnasiums for the promotion of physical health and strength.

As regards the history of this institution it was first commenced at a small house in Hoxton, in the year 1758, for the reception of twenty poor orphan and destitute boys. Twenty girls were afterwards admitted, making a total of forty children; this number gradually increased, until three houses were full, which obliged the committee to seek larger premises, and land having been purchased in the City-road (then a suburb of London), the school was erected in 1775, which was occupied until 1847.

The premises in the City-road were intended for thirty-five boys and thirty-five girls; but in 1840, that number had increased to one hundred; and in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-nine. In anticipation of an increased income it was determined to erect a new building, where two hundred and forty children could be accommodated. Haverstock Hill was the spot selected. To this locality the children were removed in 1847, the one hundred and thirty-nine at that period have become two hundred and seventy-four, and will be further increased to four hundred, as the committee may be encouraged by public support. Fifty children are annually elected into the schools by the votes of governors and subscribers, sixty will be admitted during the present year, and that number will be increased from time to time until the house is full.

Children are admitted between seven and eleven years of age, provided they are in good health, and have neither been the inmates of a prison or a workhouse. The boys remain in the school until they are fourteen years of age when they are placed out as apprentices, if suitable situations offer, with an outfit of

the value of five pounds. Nearly all the girls remain until they are fifteen years of age, and are trained for domestic service. When they leave the school situations are usually provided for them. Each girl has an outfit of the value of three guineas. During the seven following years after they leave the school, and to encourage them to persevere in good conduct, the old scholars are rewarded with sums varying from five shillings to one guinea, on producing satisfactory testimonials from their employers.

Altogether, one thousand nine hundred and forty-three poor children have been admitted into the schools; nearly all who have left, after receiving a religious, useful, and suitable education, have been placed in situations, in which they have, by industry and good conduct, obtained a comfortable livelihood—some have risen to influential stations in society, and many of them are now governors of the charity. In 1859 the receipts were £9,778 9s. 3d., and the expenditure, £9,734 16s. 7d.

ST. PANCRAS FEMALE CHARITY SCHOOL, HAMPSTEAD ROAD.

THIS school was instituted by the parishioners in the year 1776, for the purpose of maintaining, clothing, instructing, and putting out to service a certain number of female children of the industrious poor of the parish. The number, originally six, was soon increased to sixty-three, but in 1859 it was reduced to fifty-three. The original school being too small for the increased number of children, the present building was erected in 1790 on a piece of ground generously granted for that purpose by Lord Southampton on the eastern side of the Hampstead Road, near St. James's Chapel. These poor girls are clothed, educated, and wholly supported by this institution until they are fit for domestic service, when they are carefully put out with respectable people. A child to be eligible, must have been legally settled in the parish for two years. According to the abstract ac-

count of the income and expenditure for the year 1858, the finances stood as follows : income, £943 0s 10d; the expenditure, £791 7s 2d. The Board-room of the institution is a handsome apartment; on the panels of the walls are a list of the benefactors of the school written in gold; over the fire place is a portrait of Thomas Russell, Esq., one of the trustees, painted by J. P. Knight, R.A. The patrons are the Earl of Mansfield and Lord Southampton, together with the vicar of the parish. The hon. secretary is Mr. John Kersey, 24, Euston Square.

THE REFORMATORY AND WORKMAN'S INSTITUTE, EUSTON ROAD.

BOTH these noble institutions have been chiefly established by J. G. Bower, Esq., of Amptbill Square, a gentleman who has successfully exerted himself to benefit his fellow-countrymen as any man living, and deserves the gratitude of the community for his efforts. The number of inmates in the Reformatory is constantly varying, but the average, however, is 110. The course of training lasts about twelve months, at the end of which they are sent out as emigrants or assisted to provide for themselves in this country. There are various trades taught, such as printing, turnery, carpentering and smith's work, polishing, tailoring, shoemaking and bookbinding. The whole expenditure for the maintenance of the inmates is £19 15s 9½d per head, whereas it has been reckoned that the annual booty of a London thief is £300. There are a variety of articles on sale in the shop attached to the Reformatory in the Euston Road, the productions of the inmates.

The Workman's Institute is contiguous to the Reformatory, though not connected with it in any way. It is well-lighted, and there is a spacious and comfortable reading-room furnished with periodicals, newspapers, &c., beside many other advantages.

ST. PANCRAS ALMSHOUSES.

THESE Alms-houses are situated at Haverstock Hill. They were founded in 1850 by D. Fraser, Esq., for the purpose of affording a shelter for decayed and aged parishioners. Candidates for admission must have a small independent income before making an application. The new buildings consist of a very handsome row of attached cottages built with pointed roofs and red brick facings. A spacious and well-kept lawn is situated in the front, which is enclosed by a light and elegant stone wall. The situation and appearance of the whole is very pleasing. On a tablet at

the side of the porter's lodge and facing the highway, is the following inscription written in blue and gold, stating the objects of the institution :—

Supported by Voluntary Contributions
To the Glory of God

And for the comfort of poor old Parishioners.
These Alms-houses were projected by Donald Fraser, M.D.

And by the willing aid of Public benevolence,
Were Founded A.D. 1850,

And rebuilt on this site A.D. 1859.

Rev. Canon Dale, M.A., Vicar.

Henry Baker, Architect.

"Cast me not off at the time of old age,
Forsake me not when my strength faileth."

The Alms-houses are managed by a committee of subscribers. The secretary is Mr. Lettice, 134, Euston Road.

TONBRIDGE CHAPEL, EUSTON ROAD.

TONBRIDGE CHAPEL is one of the five places of worship erected chiefly by the instrumentality of the late Mr. T. Wilson of Highbury, and was first opened for divine worship on Wednesday, September 17, 1810. The Rev. Thomas Spencer, a gifted and eloquent preacher officiated here soon after the establishment of a church. During the ministry of Dr. Liefchild, Smith, the martyr of Demerara, was converted to a knowledge of the truth. One day, in passing along the Euston Road, he carelessly entered this place of worship while the above gentleman was preaching, and the word went so powerfully to his heart, that he afterwards became a devoted servant to the cause of religion. He offered his services as a missionary, and was sent to Demerara, where his efforts in the cause of negro emancipation resulted in a cruel persecution by the planters; he was falsely accused by them, and died in a fetid prison into which he was thrown. Some time after this, the House of Commons rang with the eloquence of Lord Brougham as he told of the wrongs and cruel death of the martyr missionary of Demerara. Smith's Place Ragged School was first founded by the members of this chapel. The building is a plain brick structure, with a small portico in front. The Rev. H. Madgin is the present minister.

NATIONAL SCOTCH CHURCH, REGENT-SQUARE.

THIS building was erected in 1827 from designs by Mr. Tite, the celebrated architect, for the service of divine worship according to the

doctrine of the National Scotch Presbyterian Church. The Rev. E. Irving, founder of the sect called the Irvingites, was the first minister; Dr. Chalmers also sometimes preached here. The freehold site and building is stated to have cost £25,000, and will accommodate 1,000 persons. The Rev. J. Hamilton, D.D., is the present minister. The church was lately put up for auction by order of the mortgagees and was bought in for the congregation for £6,000, since which it has been repainted and repaired. The interior is cushioned throughout, and lighted by sun-burners from the ceiling.

HIGHGATE CEMETERY.

THIS justly celebrated and beautiful cemetery comprises a portion of the grounds formerly belonging to the old Mansion-House at Highgate. It is neatly and tastefully laid out, and the subterranean depositories and catacombs were constructed under the direction of Mr. Bunning, the city architect. There is a neat chapel for the use of the members of the Established Church and also for Dissenters. A portion of the cemetery was consecrated in 1839 by the Bishop of London.

The view from the terrace is most magnificent, comprising, on a clear day, a comprehensive panorama of the Surrey and Kentish hills; towards the east the winding Thames as far down as Erith may be seen, and the whole of the metropolis lies in the valley below. It is the highest ground in the north of London, being 420 feet above the level of the Thames, 15 feet higher than the doorstep of "Jack Straw's Castle," and 300 feet higher than Primrose-hill.

THE VESTRY HALL.

THE Vestry Hall is situated in the King's Road, Camden Town, and was erected in 1847. Mr. Bond, the then surveyor of the parish, was the architect, and Mr. Cooper, the builder. It is a plain brick building with cornice mouldings. On the ground floor are the various offices and committee-rooms for the use of the official staff in transacting parish business. The hall is approached by a handsome stone staircase. It is an elegant square apartment; at its western end is a gallery for ratepayers, and a raised dais at the upper end of the apartment. Over the dais are two handsome portraits of men of eminent local fame, who have fought the parochial battles of the parish, and intro-

duced wise and sound reforms in the local legislature. The portrait to the right is that of Richard Brettingham, Esq., and the other that of William Douglas, Esq., the latter of whom has been at the head of the financial affairs of the district for many years, and was mainly instrumental in abolishing church rates in the parish.

Formerly the Vestry had no settled place of meeting, and used to deliberate at various taverns in the parish. The parish is represented by 120 vestrymen chosen from the eight wards into which it is divided, and who manage the whole of the parish business. From these vestrymen, forty gentlemen are chosen to serve as guardians of the poor. At Easter two churchwardens are annually elected. A Committee of Works, also chosen from the Vestry, meet every Monday at Edward Street, Hampstead Road, and transact all business connected with paving and lighting.

THE WORKHOUSE.

THE present Workhouse was erected in the year 1809, at a cost to the parish of £30,000. It has, however, since then been largely added to, and is now more than double its original size. The number of inmates at present, average from 1,200 to 1,500,—the population of a large village or town. It is managed with great credit and economy, and at the same time the poor are well-treated. The following is the dietary table of adults 60 years of age and upwards, and the various other classes are dieted in proportion:—

Sunday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and 1 pint of tea. Dinner, cooked meat, 6 oz, potatoes, 8 oz. Supper same as breakfast.

Monday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and 1 pint of tea. Dinner, one pint of pea soup. Supper same as breakfast.

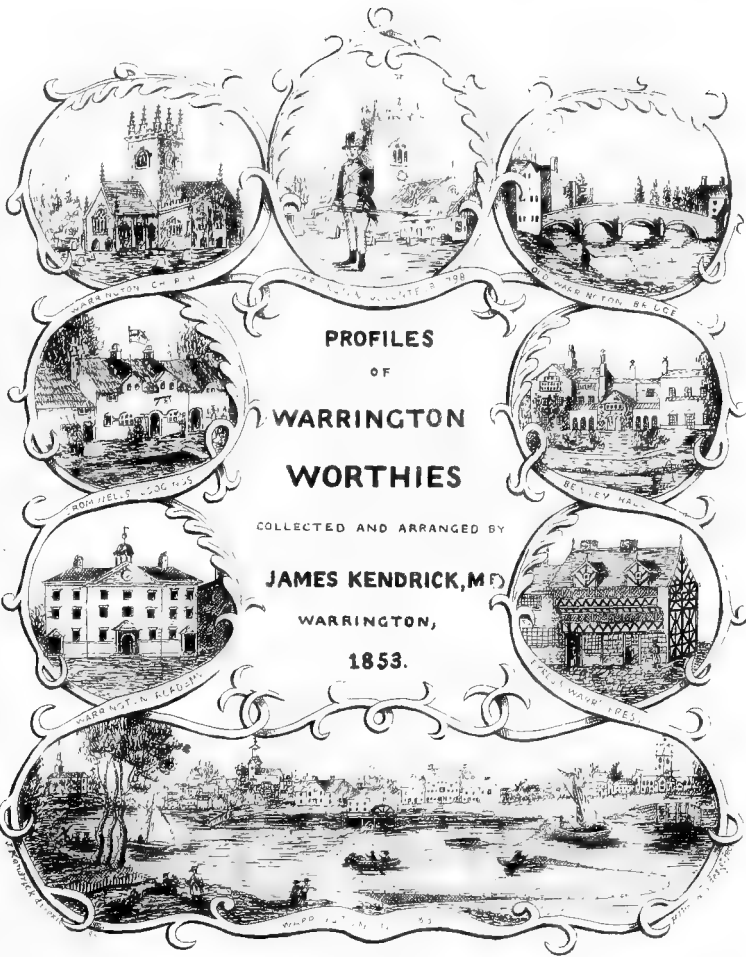
Tuesday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and 1 pint of tea. Dinner, cooked meat, 6 oz, potatoes, 8 oz. Supper same as breakfast.

Wednesday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and 1 pint of tea. Dinner, one pint of pea soup. Supper same as breakfast.

Thursday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and one pint of tea. Dinner, cooked meat, 6 oz, potatoes, 8 oz. Supper same as breakfast.

Friday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and 1 pint tea. Dinner, one pint of pea soup. Supper same as breakfast.

Saturday—Breakfast, 7 oz bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz butter, and pint of tea. Dinner, suet pudding, 12 oz. Supper same as breakfast.



"I have here a nosegay of culled flowers, and have brought you nothing of my own but the string which ties them."

Under the designation of "Warrington Worthies" I offer to my friends a collection of *Profiles* of such distinguished characters, (more especially in the department of literature,) as by their birth or prolonged residence at Warrington, have become more or less identified with the history of the town. The accomplishment of this end has been attended with no slight amount of trouble and difficulty; sufficient, indeed, to convince me that the lapse of another twenty years would have rendered impossible a work of which I now view the completion with feelings of equal pride and pleasure.

The few biographical *notes* which follow are too short and circumstantial to call for any lengthened preliminary. I wish them to be regarded as mere accessaries to the *portraits*, serving only as a *string to bind them together*, and to connect the whole, however inadequately, with the history of my native town.

JAMES KENDRICK.

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.



Nº 1.

A



JOHN AIKIN, D. D.



A. L. AIKIN,
[Mrs Barbauld]



JOHN AIKIN, M. D.



ARTHUR AIKIN.



LUCY AIKIN.



CHARLES R. AIKIN.

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.

JOHN AIKIN, D. D. Born at London, Dec. 28, 1713. An eminent dissenting divine, who shortly after the opening, in the year 1757, of the *Warrington Academy for the education of young men of every religious denomination for the Christian ministry, or as laymen*, was selected by the trustees to fill the office of *classical tutor*. On the death of *Dr. John Taylor*, in the spring of 1761, Dr. Aikin succeeded to the chair of *divinity* professor, which he occupied until his death at Warrington, Dec. 14, 1780.

ANNA LÆTITIA AIKIN. (*Mrs. Barbauld.*) Born at Kibworth, Leicestershire, June 20, 1743. The well-known authoress of 'Hymns in Prose'; 'Early Lessons,' &c. Resident at Warrington from 1758 to 1774, in which year she married the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, of Palgrave, Suffolk. She died at Stoke Newington, near London, Mar. 9, 1825.

JOHN AIKIN, M. D. Also born at Kibworth, Jan. 15, 1747. The elegant poet, and author of 'A Description of the Country Thirty to Forty Miles round Manchester;' 'General Biography;' 'Evenings at Home;' 'Letters to a Son,' &c. Dr. Aikin was a resident practitioner at Warrington from 1771 to 1784, during a part of the time lecturing on Natural History at the *Academy*. He died at Stoke Newington, Dec. 7, 1822.

ARTHUR AIKIN, F. L. S.; F. G. S. ETC. Born at Warrington, May 19, 1773. Author of a 'Manual of Mineralogy;' 'A Tour through North Wales and Shropshire;' and (in conjunction with his brother *Charles R. Aikin*,) 'A Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy'. Mr. Aikin was for many years Secretary to the Society of Arts, and Lecturer on Chemistry at Guy's Hospital, which office he resigned when approaching his eightieth year. He now resides in Bloomsbury Square, London.

LUCY AIKIN. Born at Warrington, in the year 1781. The accomplished authoress of 'Memoirs' of her father *Dr. Aikin*; 'Memoirs of the Courts of Queen Elizabeth, James 1st, and Charles 1st,' &c. She also edited the works of her aunt, *Mrs. Barbauld*, with a memoir prefixed. Miss Aikin now resides at Hampstead, near London.

CHARLES ROCHEMONT AIKIN, M. R. C. S. Born at Warrington, Aug. 25, 1775. Became a general practitioner in London. The joint author, as already stated, of a 'Dictionary of Chemistry and Mineralogy.' He married *Anne*, eldest daughter of the *Rev. Gilbert Wakefield*, and died in Bloomsbury Square, London, Mar. 20, 1847.

EDMUND AIKIN. (*No profile known.*) Born at Warrington, Oct. 2, 1780. Author of several articles in the class of Civil Architecture in *Dr. Rees's Encyclopædia*, and of an Essay on Modern Architecture, and on the Doric Order in the Transactions of the London Architectural Society. Also 'Designs for Villas;' and an 'Essay on St. Paul's Cathedral.' Mr. Aikin settled at Liverpool, and was the architect of the Wellington Assembly Rooms, Mount Pleasant. He died at the house of his father, at Stoke Newington, Mar. 11, 1820.

THOMAS BARNES, D. D. Born at Warrington, Feb. 13, 1747. For many years an eminent dissenting minister at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. He was one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Society of that city, and on the removal of the *Academy* from Warrington to Manchester in 1783, was appointed *principal*, an office which he held until the year 1798. Dr. Barnes died at Manchester, June 27, 1810.

THOMAS BYRTH, D. D.; F. S. A. Born at Devonport, Sept. 11, 1793. A learned and eloquent divine of the Church of England. Incumbent of St. James's, Warrington, from 1827 to 1834, when he accepted the living of Wallasey, Cheshire. He died at Wallasey, Oct. 28, 1849.

ANNE BLACKBURNE. Born at Orford Hall, Warrington, in the year 1740. An enthusiastic naturalist; the friend and correspondent of Linnæus, who named after her one of the American Warblers, (*Sylvia Blackburniæ.*) *John Reinhold Forster*, the circumnavigator, also named in her honour a genus of New Holland plants, (*Blackburnia.*) After a long and useful life she died at her house, Fairfield, Warrington, Dec. 30, 1793.

GEORGE CROSFIELD. Born at Warrington, May 26, 1785. A much esteemed member of the Society of Friends. Resident at Warrington

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.

Nº2. B-F.



THOMAS BARNES, D.D.



THO: BYRTH, D.D.



ANNE BLACKBURNE.



Geo: CROSFIELD.



NICHOLAS CLAYTON, D.D.



GILES CHIPPINDALL.



WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL.D.
J. Kendrick delin.



WILLIAM EYRES.



JOHN FITCHETT.
S. Holden, lith.

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.

Nº 3. F—K.



JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL.

[No portrait known.]



T. K. GLAZEBROOK.



PENDLEBURY HOUGHTON.



JOHN HOLT.



JOHN HARRISON.



JOHN JACKSON.



JOHN HALL.



until the year 1813, when he removed to Lancaster, and in 1819 to Liverpool. A clever and observing botanist, author of the 'Calendar of Flora for the year 1809;' 'Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill;' and editor of 'William Thompson's Letters,' with a memoir prefixed. Mr. Crosfield died at Liverpool, Dec. 15, 1847.

NICHOLAS CLAYTON, D.D. Born at Enfield Old Park, Middlesex, in the year 1733. A highly gifted Presbyterian divine, minister of the Octagon Chapel, Liverpool. On the death of *Dr. Aikin* in 1780, Dr. Clayton was appointed *divinity* professor in the *Warrington Academy*, but his connection with it ceased on its removal to Manchester. He afterwards ministered at Nottingham, and the last two years of his life were spent at Liverpool, where he died May 20, 1797.

GILES CHIPPINDALL. Born at Ulverstone, Lancashire, in the year 1759. Curate of Winwick, near Warrington. Mr. Chippindall was one of the earliest promoters of the Warrington Institution, a Society established in the year 1812 for the cultivation of Science, Literature, and the Arts, and so long as it lasted was one of its Vice-Presidents. He died at Winwick, Oct. 10, 1823.

WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL.D. Born at Sudbury, Suffolk, Mar. 29, 1741. The well-known compiler of 'The Speaker,' and author of the 'History of Liverpool;' many volumes of 'Sermons,' and other works on elocution. In 1770 he was elected tutor in *belles lettres*, and *rector academice* at the Warrington Academy, in which and other lectureships he continued until its removal in 1783, he himself remaining for two years longer at Warrington, in charge of the Presbyterian congregation. Dr. Enfield died at Norwich, Nov. 3, 1797.

WILLIAM EYRES. Born at Warrington early in 1734. One of the best printers of his day, not excepting the metropolitan press. As specimens of the beautiful typography which issued from the Warrington Press, whilst under his management, we have Dr. Aikin's 'Translation of the life of Agricola, by Tacitus, 1774;' 'Howard's state of Prisons in England, 1777;' and on 'Lazarettos, 1789;' and Watson's 'History of the House of Warren, 1782;' the last of which is designated by Gilbert Wakefield as "perhaps the most accurate specimen of *typography* ever produced by any press." Mr. Eyres died at Warrington, Sept. 14, 1809.

JOHN FITCHETT. Born at Liverpool, Sept. 21, 1776. Author of 'King Alfred, an Epic Poem;' 'Bewsey, a Poem;' and a volume of

‘Minor Poems.’ Mr. Fitchett followed the profession of a solicitor at Warrington, and in the leisure intervals of a very extensive practice found opportunities of cultivating his taste for elegant literature. Before his death he had accumulated a classic library, which as the work of a private individual is unsurpassed in the North of England. It is particularly rich in works on English History and Poetry, more especially illustrative of the poets of the Elizabethan age. He died at Warrington, Oct. 20, 1838.

JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, LL.D. A Prussian, born at Dirschau, near Dantzic, Dec. 22, 1729. A celebrated naturalist and circumnavigator. For several years he filled the chairs of *natural history* and *modern languages* in the Warrington Academy, and during this period enjoyed the friendship of *Miss Anne Blackburne* of Orford, near Warrington. In her honour he named a *genus* of New Holland plants *Blackburnia*, discovered on his voyage round the world with Captain Cook in 1772-74. He died at Halle, in December, 1798.

SAMUEL FOTHERGILL. Born at Carr End, Wensleydale, Yorkshire, Sept. 9, 1715. A faithful and highly-gifted minister in the Society of Friends. He appears to have become a resident at Warrington at the close of the year 1736, and with the exception of occasions upon which his duties as a minister called for his absence, he remained here until his death. His *Memoirs*, and *Selections from his Correspondence* were published by George Crosfield in 1843. Mr. Fothergill died at Warrington, June 15, 1772.

THOMAS KIRKLAND GLAZEBROOK, F.L.S. Born at Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, June 4, 1780. Author of a ‘History of Southport, Lancashire;’ ‘Lissa;’ ‘A Chronological List of Trades,’ &c. &c. Mr. Glazebrook was resident at Warrington until the year 1835. Here his social qualifications, and general usefulness in aid of the public institutions of the town have secured him the affectionate regard of all who know him. He now resides at Southport.

PENDLEBURY HOUGHTON. Born at Hyde, near Stockport, Cheshire, in the year 1758. Author of a volume of ‘Sermons’ and ‘Essays on the Natural Arguments for a Future state.’ He became a student at the Warrington Academy in Sept. 1773, and in 1778 assisted *Dr. Aikin* in the *classical* professorship. Mr. Houghton subsequently became a very popular minister at Norwich, as the colleague of *Dr. Enfield*, and afterwards at Liverpool. He died at Geldestone, Suffolk, Apr. 3, 1824.

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.

Nº 4. L—S.



PETER LITHERLAND.



EDWARD LLOYD, M.A.



JOHN MACOWAN.



JOSHUA MARSDEN.



EDWARD OWEN, M.A.



THOMAS PERCIVAL, M.D.



JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D.



JOHN RYLANDS.



JOHN SEDDON.

JOHN HOLT. Place and date of birth unascertained. An eminent mathematician. At the commencement of the Warrington Academy in 1757, Mr. Holt then of Walton, near Liverpool, was elected to the chairs of *mathematics* and *natural philosophy*. The former of these professorships he held until his death, which took place at Warrington in the early part of the year 1772.

JOHN HARRISON. Born at Fouldby, Yorkshire, in May, 1693. An ingenious mechanic, by trade a watchmaker, for some years resident at Warrington. He was the inventor of the *compensating pendulum*, and in 1767 received twenty thousand pounds from the government, for a method of discovering the *longitude* more accurately than had been previously known. Hence he was often designated "Longitude Harrison." He died in Red Lion Square, London, in March, 1776.

JOHN JACKSON. Born at Crosedale Beck, Yorkshire, Dec. 4, 1793. A much respected member of the Society of Friends. Author of 'Puzzles and Paradoxes relating to Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, &c. with their Solutions;' and a frequent contributor on these subjects to the 'Gentlemen's and Ladies' Diary', where his solutions of many very abstruse calculations have shewn him to be a clever mathematician. Mr. Jackson opened a seminary at Warrington in the year 1821, which he conducted until recently, and has retired to a life of quiet repose with the affectionate regard of his many pupils and friends.

JOHN KAY. Born at "The Park," near Bury, Lancashire. About the middle of the last century he was resident as a watchmaker at Warrington, and is here believed to have suggested to Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Arkwright, in 1767, the use of the *fly-shuttle* in the weaving of cotton fabrics. Meeting with much undeserved opposition in this country, he emigrated to Paris, and is supposed to have died there.

JAMES KENDRICK, M.D.; F. L. S. Born at Warrington, Jan. 14, 1771. Dr. Kendrick commenced the practice of medicine at Warrington at the close of the year 1793, and throughout a life prolonged to the period of seventy-six years and upwards, was unceasing in endeavours to alleviate human suffering, and to promote the interests of every charitable and scientific institution in his native town. He died at Warrington, Nov. 30, 1847.

PETER LITHERLAND. Born at Warrington in 1756. Inventor of the *Patent Lever Watch*. Mr. Litherland carried on the business of a watch-

maker at Warrington until the year 1790, when he removed to Liverpool, where he died in the month of December, 1804.

EDWARD LLOYD, A. M. Born at Glynbrochan, Montgomeryshire, in the year 1750. A much esteemed clergyman of the Church of England; a learned and accomplished classic. Mr. Lloyd was for forty-two years perpetual curate of Sankey, near Warrington, and for a length of time Second-Master at the Free Grammar-School of Warrington, founded by the will of Sir Thomas Boteler, of Bewsey, in the year 1522. On surrendering the latter office, Mr. Lloyd opened a private academy at Fairfield, the late residence of *Miss Anne Blackburne*, for the education of youths of a higher class. He died Dec. 23, 1813.

JOHN MACCOWAN. Born in Scotland, in the year 1725. A well-known Baptist minister; author of 'Dialogues of Devils;' 'The Shaver;' 'The Canker-Worm;' &c. He was for some years resident at Warrington, carrying on the business of a baker, and likewise officiating at the ancient chapel of the Baptists at Hill-Cliff, near Warrington. Eventually he was appointed minister of Devonshire Square Chapel, London, where he died Nov. 25, 1780.

JOSHUA MARSDEN. Born at Warrington in the year 1777. A Wesleyan preacher and missionary; author of 'The Narrative of a Mission to British North America;' 'The Evangelical Minstrel;' &c. On his return to England in 1814, from his mission abroad, he acted as a local preacher until a short time before his death, which took place at London, Aug. 11, 1837.

EDWARD OWEN, A. M. Born in Montgomeryshire, about the year 1727. For forty years Rector of Warrington, and for fifty years Head-Master of the Free Grammar School there. Author of a 'Latin Grammar,' and 'Vocabulary,' 'Translations of the Satires of Juvenal, Persius, and Statius,' and several printed 'Sermons.' *Gilbert Wakefield* in his personal 'Memoirs' says "for propriety, perspicuity, and elegance of expression, *Mr. Owen* has not many equals, at a time when good writing is become so general." He died at Warrington, in April, 1807.

THOMAS PERCIVAL, M. D.; F. R. S.; F. S. A. Born at Warrington, Sept. 29, 1740. An eminent physician, moral essayist, and philosopher. Author of 'A Father's Instructions to his Children;' 'Medical Ethics;' &c. In 1767 Dr. Percival commenced practice in Manchester, and at the

WARRINGTON WORTHIES.

Nº 5. T-Y.



JOHN TAYLOR, D.D.



WILLIAM THOMPSON.



GEORGE WALKER.



GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B.A.



JOHN WATKINS.



WILLIAM WILSON.



meetings for scientific enquiry which took place at his house, originated the Literary and Philosophical Society of that city, of which he continued President for twenty years. He died at Manchester, Aug. 30, 1804.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D.; F. R. S. Born at Fieldhead, near Leeds, Yorkshire, Mar. 18, 1733. An eminent natural philosopher, chemist, and Presbyterian divine. Author of a 'History of Electricity;' 'Chart of History,' &c. He is also famous as the discoverer of oxygen, carbonic oxide, nitrous oxide, and other gases not previously known, shewing also their influence in the phenomena of animal and vegetable life. Dr. Priestley came to Warrington in 1761 as tutor in *classics* and *polite literature* at the Academy, and remained here six years, leaving in Sept., 1767. Some of *Mrs. Barbauld's* first poems were written in his house, on occasions which occurred whilst they were both resident at Warrington. In 1794 Dr. Priestley emigrated to America, and died at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, Feb. 6, 1804.

JOHN RYLANDS. Born at Warrington, Jan. 21, 1771. A strenuous and consistent advocate of liberal opinions, but equally respected by his fellow-townsmen of every political party. Always ready to lend aid to the local government and public institutions of Warrington, he will be long remembered as one of the first projectors of its Dispensary, as the zealous supporter, and chairman of its committee for many years. He died at Warrington, Aug. 23, 1848.

JOHN SEDDON. Born Dec. 8, 1724. Author of "A Form of Prayer, and a new Collection of Psalms, for the use of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool." Mr. Seddon in 1747 became the pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Warrington, and was the original projector of the *Academy*. He was likewise the first president of the Warrington Library, established in 1758, which, on its union with the Museum of the Natural History Society, (commenced Nov. 23, 1838,) was the *first* Free Library and Museum thrown open to the public in this country, under the Act 8 and 9 Vic. c. 43. Mr. Seddon died at Warrington, Jan. 22, 1770.

JOHN TAYLOR, D. D. Born at Lancaster, in the year 1694. A dissenting divine, theological writer, and celebrated classical scholar. Author of 'A Paraphrase to the Epistle to the Romans;' 'A Key to the Apostolic Writings;' 'Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin;' 'Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement;' 'A Hebrew Concordance,' &c. At the opening of the Warrington Academy, Dr. Taylor, then of Norwich, was selected to fill the

chair of *divinity*, including the *classics*: his connection with the institution was, however, cut short by his death, which took place Mar. 5, 1761.

WILLIAM THOMPSON. Born at Macclesfield, Cheshire, Jan. 26, 1791. Of very humble origin, William Thompson was aided and encouraged by gentlemen of Warrington and its neighbourhood to pursue his desire for literary and religious knowledge. By their influence he was also eventually established as a village schoolmaster at Penketh, near Warrington. A selection from his beautiful letters, and accompanying memoir by *George Crosfield*, was published after his death. He died at Penketh, Feb. 9, 1817.

GEORGE WALKER, F. R. S. Born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about the year 1735. Author of a 'Treatise on the Sphere;' and another on 'Conic Sections;' 'Philosophical Essays,' &c. Mr. Walker was tutor of *mathematics* in the Warrington Academy from 1772 to 1774; removed thence to Nottingham, and subsequently to Manchester, as *theological* professor in the New College for dissenters. On the decease of *Dr. Percival*, Mr. Walker succeeded him as president of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. He died at London, Apr. 21, 1807.

GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A. Born at Nottingham, Feb. 22, 1756. An accomplished classical scholar, critic, and commentator. Author of 'A New Translation of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians,' and of the 'Gospel of St. Matthew;' of an edition of 'Lucretius, with Variorum Notes;' 'Silva Critica;' &c. Mr. Wakefield came to reside at Warrington in August, 1779, as *classical* tutor at the Academy, and remained here until its close in 1783. After an eventful life he died at London, Sept. 9, 1801.

JOHN WATKINS. Born at Warrington. "Honest John Watkins" was for many years engaged in the business of smelting copper from the ore at Warrington, and thereby, in connection with the industry of his father, acquired a fortune which enabled him, besides munificent benefactions during his life-time to the Warrington Blue Coat School, and Ladies' School for Girls, to endow them at his death with permanent sources of income. He died at Ditton, near Warrington, Apr. 25, 1821, aged 81 years.

WILLIAM WILSON. Born at Warrington, June 7, 1799. A botanist, well known for minuteness and accuracy, more particularly in the microscopic examination of the *cryptogamic flora*. Mr. Wilson is the discoverer of several species new to Britain, and his claims to distinction as a botanist

have been recognized by Sir William J. Hooker in naming after him a Fern (*Hymenophyllum Wilsoni*); by Mr. Borrer a Rose (*Rosa Wilsoni*); and a Fungus (*Sepedonium Wilsoni*), by Mr. Thomas G. Rylands. Mr. Wilson named and classified the Mosses for Dr. Joseph Hooker's 'Flora of the Antarctic Regions,' and is engaged, in connection with Sir W. J. Hooker, in publishing a work on the 'British Mosses.'

JOHN YATES. Born at Bolton, Lancashire, Nov. 10, 1755. Author of 'A Selection of Hymns for Public Worship;' 'A Sermon on the death of the Rev. Thomas Barnes, D. D.' &c. &c. Mr. Yates in 1777 was appointed minister of Key Street Chapel, Liverpool, removing thence, together with his congregation, to their new place of worship in Paradise Street. He died at his residence at the Dingle, near Liverpool, Nov. 10, 1826.



With the Author's Kind regards

REMARKS
ON
SHAKESPEARE,
HIS
BIRTH-PLACE,
ETC.

SUGGESTED BY A VISIT TO STRATFORD-
UPON-AVON, IN THE AUTUMN OF 1868.

BY
C. ROACH SMITH, Hon.M.R.S.L.,
Hon. M.NUM.SOC.LON.,
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE INSTITUT DES PROVINCES DE FRANCE, ETC.

LONDON :
PRIVATELY PRINTED ; AND NOT PUBLISHED.

1868-9.

STRATFORD-UPON-AVON AND SHAKESPEARE.

A VISIT to the town in which our great bard was born ; in which he passed his early youth ; and in which he died ; is projected, at least, by all of his countrymen who have been so fortunate as to receive an education to qualify them to understand and master his wonderful works. Many succeed in performing this rational pilgrimage, as the walls of his birth-place and of Anne Hathaway's cottage testify ; for they are covered with thousands upon thousands of signatures of noble as well as gentle, of eminent as well as of obscure, regardless alike of the questionable good taste of their scribbling, and of the perishable material. More durable will be the records in the books which have been kept at the chief inns now for many years. They fill rapidly ; and disclose the remarkable fact that full one-third of the signatures seem to be American, an auspicious sign of community of feeling created by the humanising writings of the Stratford-born poet. "You cannot imagine", said an American lady to us, "how much we think of Shakespeare."

From the obscurity in which his life is shrouded, the coeval remains of Stratford-on-Avon have far greater importance than they would have possessed had Shakespeare received from his contemporaries notice such as has so frequently been lavished on inferior men. We cannot look upon him through biographers, through correspondence, or

through any of the channels which, at the present day, secure immortality to thousands ; but we may, in the streets of Stratford, and in the highways and bye-ways of the neighbourhood, in the fields, meadows, and villages, see objects which must constantly have been before his eyes, the impress of many of which is reflected most vividly throughout all his works.

Documentary evidence and tradition combine to vindicate the house in Henley Street as his birthplace ; for although John Shakespeare, his father, had other houses in and about Stratford, yet the honour has never been claimed for any other ; and it is pretty certain he lived in Henley Street about the time of the Poet's birth. Here we may safely trust to tradition. The Poet, in his lifetime, must have had some friends and neighbours who were proud of him ; who knew his history, and who had been his companions : to them, no doubt, were well known all the particulars of his early life, and among them the house in which he was born. At his death many persons were probably living who could prove it ; and for a long time afterwards could point it out from their personal knowledge. At his death there was nothing so likely to be at once embalmed as his birth-place ; and nothing less likely to be allowed to be misplaced. New Place, where he died, has recently received from the pen of Mr. Halliwell a minute historical description, comprised in two hundred and forty-six folio pages.* It was purchased by Shakespeare some twenty years before his death ; and to this spacious house with its gardens and grounds, he retired in what may be termed the prime of life. The house, alas ! is no more ; and no authentic engravings remain of it, if any

* An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon. By James O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S. Folio, London, Acland, 1861.

were ever made: but the site is unquestioned; and Mr. Halliwell, who has become the Guardian Genius of all that is left to us connected with the personal life of Shakespeare, has caused to be preserved what was left of the foundations of the house; and to his strenuous exertions we mainly owe the purchase for the public of the Poet's great garden. In it stands a modern theatre which is yet private property; this it is contemplated to buy and pull down; but surely there is no necessity for destroying a structure which, properly managed, could be made useful for instructing the Stratford public in a fuller knowledge of the works of their great townsman. One such theatre should be raised in every town in the kingdom; but that upon ground which was once the Poet's; and which is hallowed by the fact that he there recreated his health and spirits in the intervals he could spare from a wearying London life, must hold a charm and preeminence over all others. Shakespeare was also an actor; and his merits as an actor have been questioned apparently without much reflection. His name stands first among the actors in Ben Jonson's plays of "Every man in his Humour", and "Sejanus"; and he who could lay down such rules for truly good acting as he has done in "Hamlet", must himself, we may suppose, have been practically, as well as theoretically, accomplished.

In his History of the New Place, Mr. Halliwell has brought together a very large amount of hitherto unpublished documentary evidence, illustrative, not only of New Place and its vicissitudes, but of the habits and manners of the people of Stratford; and the state of the town in and after the time of Shakespeare; but the darkness which has surrounded the great object of his researches is almost as dense as ever; still the historian toils on with unflagging industry and unfailing hope, not despairing of yet finding in some old chest or long locked cupboard in

some old manor house, correspondence or other documents which may in a slight degree fill the present void. Among the most interesting materials which Mr. Halliwell has brought together are those which show the condition of Stratford in the time of Shakespeare; and the sound inferences he draws from them to account for his almost sudden death. Ward, who wrote in 1662, says,—“Shakspear, Drayton, and Ben Jhonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakspear died of a feavour there contracted.” That he died of a fever is highly probable; but Mr. Halliwell, after patiently weighing Ward’s statement and traditions, concludes that in all human probability he died of typhoid fever, arising from the bad drainage of the town, and the neglected state of Chapel Lane which flanked New Place. The filthy condition of this lane for a long series of years is proved by the town archives, from which Mr. Halliwell extracts numerous startling revelations; and this view is confirmed by the cast taken after death, which shows the countenance unemaciated, as it would have been after a short illness. Stratford has only during the present century, and, indeed, of late years, put on the garb of modern cleanliness in which she now appears, at the sacrifice of much that was picturesque and Shakespearean. Even at the time of the Jubilee it drew from Garrick, in a letter to Mr. Hunt, (the grandfather of the present Town Clerk), a strong remonstrance. He speaks of it as “the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved, wretched-looking town in all Britain.”

But there are yet standing houses of the time of Shakespeare; and, above all, the Grammar School in which he was educated; the Chapel of the Trinity, opposite New Place; and the Church close to the Avon, in which he was buried. All these may be considered as pure and fine relics of Shakespeare and his times, free from all doubt. Of minor objects

there are many varieties: some are old enough, but they want certificates or connecting links. Of the few which may be said to have belonged to him, the most remarkable, perhaps, is the square of glass from New Place, with the letters S. W. A., for William and Ann Shakespeare, tied in "a true lover's knot," and the date, 1615, beneath. This was first published by Mr. Fairholt in his excellent little guide-book.* The mulberry tree which grew in the garden of New Place, and was cut down in about 1756, has been turned into a variety of ornaments and utensils. Mr. Hunt possesses a superb circular table, the upper part of which is formed out of veneers made from one of the smaller branches, blended together with good taste and skill. Some of these objects have a history of their own, independent of their special connection with Shakespeare. Such was the cup presented during our visit, by Mr. Joseph Mayer, to the Shakespearean Museum. Upon the pedestal is inscribed:

“Cup made from

Shakespeare's Mulberry Tree

By Sharpe of Stratford-upon-Avon.

Formerly in possession of Mr. Munden,

and used at the meetings of

‘The Rebellious Seven’

to drink to

The Immortal Memory of Shakespeare.”

and on a silver band round the rim:

“And that I love the tree from whence thou sprangest,

Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit.”

Henry VI, Part 3, Act V, Scene 7.

The “rebellious seven” were, I believe, some of Garrick's dramatic corps who resented the curtailment of certain privileges. This museum, which has been established mainly

* The Home of Shakspeare Illustrated and Described. By F. W. Fairholt. Chapman and Hall, 1847.

through the exertions of Mr. Halliwell, contains a valuable collection of documents and other objects which, although they do but scantily relate directly to Shakespeare himself, give considerable information on the property of the family ; and are yet more important as regards the history of Stratford in the time of the Poet. One letter only remains of the thousands he must have received ; and of the hundreds he probably laid by for reference, or from respect for the writers ; and this is preserved in the museum. It is from one of the Quiney family asking for a loan of money, dated from the " Bell," in Carter Lane, the 25th Oct., 1598, and signed " Ryc. Quyne." It is endorsed, " To my loveinge good frende and contreyman Mr. Wm. Shakespere, deliver thees ;" and was, no doubt, sent by a messenger to Shakespeare's residence. Where that was does not appear, but probably, near the Wardrobe, Blackfriars, where he had a house. We may owe the safety of this solitary letter to the fact of its being a sort of proof of a debt ; and thus retained by his family after his death. But what became of the rest of his correspondence ? It is neither unreasonable nor uncharitable to suppose it was destroyed by some puritanical member of the family, who could not understand the great moral and religious worth of the writings of such a teacher ; but saw, through a narrow-minded medium, only the player and the writer of plays, as Puritans have ever seen.

Anne Hathaway's cottage divides with her husband's birth-place the homage of the visitor. To credulity, once so unbounded, has succeeded scepticism ; often as unsound, as, happily, it is proved to have been in relation to the history of this cottage. The house has been in the possession of the Hathaways for over three centuries ; and even now a descendant, in the female line, is tenant. It was repaired in 1697 by John Hathaway ; but much remains as it was when Shakespeare visited it to woo Anne, whom he married when

very young. The village of Shottery, a hamlet of Stratford, is, altogether, much the same as it must have been at that sunny time in the Poet's life when, after the exit of the school-boy, he trod the stage of the world as the lover. And the fields through which the footpath leads, the hedges, the stiles, and the general aspect of the place are, perhaps, now, much the same as they were three centuries ago. Here the fumitory thrives rankly conspicuous among

“The idle weeds that grow

In our sustaining corn ;”

and also the “hind’ring knot-grass.”

Those who have read Shakespeare and studied him chiefly in the depths of his knowledge of human life in all its grades and stages, may yet learn much from him in the fields, in the meadows, and, indeed, in the general kingdom of nature. Here he is so much at home that we can but be assured his boyhood and early youth were passed much, if not wholly, in the country ; and that his acute powers of observation were strongly exercised among rural scenery and country pursuits. Not a weed or flower escaped him : the labours of the husbandman, the business of the gardener, and even the scientific manipulations of the horticulturist were all familiar to him. The “fumitory” we noticed in our walks to Shottery, could but recal his ready and apt enumeration of the wild flowers plucked by Lear when he was

“Crown’d with rank fumiter, and furrow weeds,

With harlocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers,

Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow

In our sustaining corn ;”

and, as we strolled back to Stratford by another road which Shakespeare must have walked frequently, we could but imagine that the *Lemna minor*, or “duckweed” which we saw covering a large portion of a pond near a farm-house, was the offspring of that which dictated “the green mantle

of the standing pool," the unwholesome beverage he makes Edgar say he drank. The pond, apparently, is centuries older than his time: the duckweed must have covered it annually, and it was, probably, one of the objects which, thousands passing by and regarding not, was stored in his capacious memory, and used so happily in proper time and place. By the side of this old pond, a 'hedge-pig,' (one of the creatures Shakspeare introduces so effectively,) had come to grief. These are matters which could only have occurred to a country-trained writer.

The crab, or wild apple-tree, is one of the striking features in the scenery round Stratford-upon-Avon. This tree, whatever it may have been formerly, is by no means common now in many parts of England; and when usually met with is in hedgerows; but here we find it also in the fields and parks, a large forest tree. On approaching Stratford the crab-trees were conspicuous, with bushels of fruit lying beneath them. The crab is constantly mentioned by Shakspeare; as, for example, by way of simile, "She's as like this as a crab is like an apple"; and "She will taste like this as a crab does to a crab"; also as an emblem of winter in the exquisitely charming song which closes "Love's Labour's Lost";

"When roasted crabs hiss in the bowl:"

a song replete with rural imagery and pastoral life. In our rambles we learned that crab apples roasted, are yet a common Christmas dish in the neighbourhood of Stratford. The beautiful and extensive meadow scenery through which the Avon flows is doubtless the source of numerous allusions in our poet's writings, as in that portion of the above-mentioned song assigned to Spring:

"When daisies pied, and violets blue,
And lady-smocks all silver-white,
And cuckoo-buds of yellow hue,
Do paint the meadows with delight."

The tradition relating to the mulberry tree is not weakened by the abundant evidence Shakespeare's writings afford of his knowledge of horticulture, from which it may be concluded that he himself was attached to gardening; and was, most probably, practically a gardener. Relieved from the toil and exhausting effects of a London life, he could scarcely avoid, with the favourable appliances at his command, engaging warmly in a study and amusement so intellectual, and for which it is obvious he had ever a strong inclination. They who have supposed that Shakespeare had little knowledge of gardening, have failed to see or understand the proofs to the contrary. No one who had not studied the science of horticulture, could have written as he does in "The Winter's Tale":

" You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentle scion to the wildest stock ;
And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race : this is an art
Which does mend nature : changes it rather ; but
The art is nature."

And, in " Richard II ":

" Oh ! what pity is it,
That he had not so trimm'd and dressed his land,
As we this garden ! We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees ;
Lest, being over-proud with sap and blood,
With too much riches it confounds itself."

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" All superfluous branches
We lop away, that bearing boughs may live."

The whole vegetable kingdom seems also to have been searched by him with attentive eye and reflective thought ; so that although similes, metaphors, and allusions to plants and herbs are occurring throughout his works, they are almost, if not wholly, strikingly correct and appropriate. Why, it

may be asked, did he give "sweet marjoram" as the pass-word with Lear and Edgar, near Dover? There might have been no special reason; and its use on this occasion is not rendered more fit and proper by the cause; but Miss Pratt, the well-known writer on our native wild flowers, tells me she believes that this pass-word was suggested to Shakespeare by the sweet marjoram, which formerly grew in immense quantity upon the heights between Folkestone and Dover. That he had visited this locality, no one who is acquainted with it, and has read "King Lear," can possibly doubt. And, therefore, Miss Pratt's explanation is probably correct.

One of the most remarkable traditions respecting Shakespeare, is that relating to his having, in early life, been brought before Sir Thomas Lucy, for stealing deer from Charlecote Park. This tradition was pretty generally accepted, in all its details and consequences, for truth, until the criticising judgment of recent times rejected it, if not wholly, at least in part. But may there not be some truth in the story without at all dimming the glory of the poet; and without fixing on Sir Thomas Lucy the shadow of reproach? I can well believe that in some hour of youthful excitement he may have trespassed, either alone or with wild companions, beyond bounds, in pursuit of game; have been apprehended by the keepers, and brought before Sir Thomas Lucy, as the nearest magistrate. He may even have been arrested by mistake; and have stood before the judgment-seat of Sir Thomas. Prominent throughout his works is evidence of his knowledge of all kinds of field sports, such as hunting, falconry, fishing; and even ferreting of rabbits. It is very probable that he himself was attached to these amusements before he entered seriously upon the grand object of his life; that on some occasion he stood charged before Sir Thomas Lucy; and the scurrilous verses imputed

to him, are just such as a highly sensitive youth, as Shakespeare must have been, might have written when deeply incensed. Had he gone to his grave like his fellow-townsmen, such an incident would have been forgotten ; but when he rose to eminence ; and when, after his death, he became a frequent theme of conversation, incidents of early life would naturally be seized upon ; and as generation after generation told the tales, proneness to exaggeration added something from time to time, and disguised the simple original facts.

Charlecote is an agreeable walk from Stratford : both the mansion, and the fine monuments of the Lucy family in the church, are of much interest. The house was built in 1558 ; and having preserved most of its original features, the visitor sees it much as Shakespeare saw it.

The Mayor of Stratford (Dr. Kingsley) having announced his intention to celebrate, in 1869, the centenary of the visit of Garrick, a brief review of what was then done ; and also, a notice of the festivities in 1864, may not be ill-timed. Garrick, with all his abilities, and they were great, did not always show sound judgment. He was generous and warm-hearted ; and no one before him, on the stage, had evinced so keen an appreciation of the genius of Shakspeare. Still he consented to give the plays, not from the original text, but from Tate's edition, which would have never been endured, one would have supposed, by any manager of taste or of power to understand and feel the force of the plays as written by Shakespeare ; and Garrick never fully estimated propriety in costume. At the same time we can but ask how it was he could have consented to place upon the stage such tame and witless plays as he produced in abundance with those of the great dramatist ? It is obvious that both Garrick and the drama had to be judged by a public that could tolerate and be pleased with what would not be

thought upon at the present day ; a public that could relish coarse language, unrefined and often immoral sentiment, and gross vulgarity unrelieved by a spark of wit. He had few, if any, advisers whose high character would have commanded attention ; else his anxiety to pay tribute to the great master, might have been directed into a more wholesome channel than the course he took, to give, at so much cost, very commonplace amusements at Stratford-upon-Avon, which in no way seem to have contributed to make the works of Shakespeare better known, the only rational mode, I suggest, of doing honour to such a man ; or rather, of doing honour to ourselves. A procession of the leading characters of his plays has, in the very idea, something startling. The reader, by his fireside, pictures in his mind the prominent features of the various personages in shadowy outline, rather than in fixed and formal personifications ; and this indefiniteness in no way interferes with the effect the author designed ; but, on the contrary, helps it. When, however, it is attempted to exhibit these creations in flesh and blood, upon the stage, with all the aid of costume and scenery, but few who have read deeply, and who have pictured in their minds the leading characters, will be satisfied altogether even with the best performances. Take the personages away from the stage and its appropriate scenery, and the adjuncts which help scenic illusion ; and make a procession of them in the open air, the mental conception is immediately dispelled, and replaced by something visibly inferior, and possibly ridiculous. The thousands who would flock together, anywhere, any day, to witness such a procession would, in no way, comprehend its object, or view much more in the characters than they would see in any exhibition in any country fair. If the object in such shows be to help the public to appreciate Shakespeare, the object is not attained.

Yet, after all, we can but admire the enthusiasm of Garrick, and respect his motives. His visit to Stratford at the time created a great sensation : it was supported by many ; discountenanced and ridiculed by some of his rival actors, and by a portion of the press. 'Tis a hundred years since ; and we, who are now attracted by an intimation that there is an intention to commemorate, next year, the centenary of Garrick's visit to Stratford, cannot but review with curiosity and interest, the details of so remarkable an event. The materials for a complete history of the Jubilee, as it was called, cannot be wanting ; and they must be, I should suppose, voluminous. In several points of view the publication of a collection of edited and inedited accounts, and of correspondence relating to this episode in the life of Garrick would be acceptable ; and it might prove one of the best modes of celebrating the Jubilee of 1769.

So early as five o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 6th of September, some of the Drury Lane company serenaded the people of Stratford and the visitors with an ode and a song composed by Garrick ; guns were fired ; and the magistrates and chief citizens assembled in the street. At nine a public breakfast was given in the Town Hall, in which the holders of guinea tickets were admitted on payment of a shilling. Garrick, as steward, was early in attendance ; and was himself waited upon by the Mayor and Corporation "in their formalities"; and the Town Clerk, in a polite speech, presented him with a medallion of Shakespeare carved in a piece of the mulberry tree from New Place, and mounted in gold. The room soon filled ; and during the breakfast, at intervals, the company was entertained with music in the street, opposite the Hall. Half-past ten was the time appointed for leaving for the church, where the oratorio of "Judith" was performed by the entire Drury Lane orchestra, conducted by Dr. Arne. At the

conclusion, Garrick and the performers walked in procession to the amphitheatre (a temporary building), singing in chorus, to instrumental accompaniment, another composition by Garrick. Indeed, he seems to have written most of the songs sung and the odes recited on this occasion. He complained of the apathy of the poets of Oxford and Cambridge, none of whom responded to his invitation to assist. Here, at three o'clock, was a public ordinary, enlivened at intervals by songs and catches. From the amphitheatre the assembly retired to prepare for the ball in the assembly room, constructed in imitation of the Ranelagh rotunda, but about half as large.

On Thursday, the 7th September, after a breakfast at the Town Hall, the company was assembled in the amphitheatre. Here was performed, under the direction of Dr. Arne, what was called the Dedication Ode, the recitative parts of which were delivered by Garrick, dressed in a suit of brown and gold, with the medallion suspended from his neck. While the airs and choruses were being sung, he sat with his steward's rod in his hand. At the conclusion of the ode he gave a prose eulogy on Shakespeare, and challenged the inimical to say what they could against him. Mr. King, the comedian, who was among the spectators, wrapt in a great coat, begged to be heard. This unlooked-for opposition astounded the majority of the audience; but those who knew the actor were much amused, knowing that something humorous was forthcoming. Mr. King then came into the orchestra in a blue suit, ornamented with silver frogs, and addressed the audience, the better-informed part of whom were highly amused, not only with the speech, but with the want of perception in many who misunderstood the drift of this portion of the performance. Then Garrick addressed the ladies in a poetical speech, complimenting them on their attachment to the great poet who, among his many

delineations of human life, had ever supported the grace and dignity of the female character. It was during this part of the performance that some of the benches, from the great pressure of the audience, gave way, and Lord Carlisle narrowly escaped being killed. In the evening, or rather, near midnight, was a masquerade, which was crowded to excess. The meanest dresses were, it is stated, hired at four guineas each ; and above four hundred were sent from London.

On the following morning, the rain, which fell heavily, prevented the procession or pageant of Shakspearean characters. We are told that several people considered the rain "as a judgment on the poetical idolatry of the Jubilites." Two engravings of the processional personages were published in the *Oxford Magazine*. They are curious as shewing the state of stage costume at that time. Garrick spent a large sum of money on this occasion ; but he recovered it in producing the pageant at Drury Lane, which drew full houses.* With less success it was exhibited at Covent

* The great actor would look with dismay on the general state of the modern drama, and on the taste of the public at the present day, exemplified by the support given to what are called "sensational" plays. One of the latest is thus spoken of in a critique in *The Times* of November 9th, on which my eye has fallen, while writing these remarks : "The convict morally disarms him by drawing out a pistol and placing it in his hands, for, with all his reverence for the criminal code, Javert feels that he cannot, in honour, arrest a man who has just made him a present of his own life. In the meantime, Thenardier has fired the house from beneath, and the room being enveloped in flame and smoke, the officer and Jean find themselves involved in a common peril. Jean saves himself by leaping from the roof into the Seine, while Javert, as the act closes, is dangling from a beam. This scene, if we may judge by the precedents of the day, will be the making of the piece."

Garden Theatre in a comedy called "Man and Wife", or "The Shakespeare Jubilee", by Colman. Both this and Garrick's "Jubilee", are, it may be said, equally tame as dramatic compositions. The "show" alone sustained them, as at the present day scenery is the main support of the modern popular drama: in no way can it be shewn that any honour was conferred on Shakespeare by such exhibitions, or any instruction given to the thousands "who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows and noise." Garrick, however, estimated his audience better than his rival; for we are told by a publication of the time, that at Drury Lane, "the inscribed streamers are very useful in notifying to the audience the different plays in which the characters appear; as, for want of a similar index at Covent Garden, half of the spectators are entirely ignorant of the pieces to which they belong."

Garrick's rivals and enemies lost no time in disparaging the Jubilee; and Foote, then manager of the Haymarket Theatre, seizing upon every misadventure, thus presented a description in "The Devil upon two Sticks":—"A Jubilee, as it has lately appeared, is a public invitation, urged by puffing, to go post without horses, to an obscure borough, without representatives, governed by a mayor, and aldermen who are no magistrates, to celebrate a great poet, whose own works have made him immortal; to an ode without poetry; music without harmony; dinners without victuals; and lodgings without beds; a masquerade where half the people appeared bare-faced; a horse-race up to the knees in water; fireworks extinguished as soon as they were lighted; and a gingerbread amphitheatre, which, like a house of cards, tumbled to pieces as soon as it was finished."

A writer in the *Town and Country Magazine*, after complaining of "a scarcity of provisions, a want of conveyances, or even covering from the inclemency of the weather, a

rotunda that was not waterproof ;” and other “ omissions and impositions,” says :—“ We were prepared for great merriment and wit, by a long list of the geniuses and literati, who were to be present upon this occasion, and the masquerade might doubtless have afforded them sufficient opportunities of displaying their humour ; but we do not find there was a single good thing said amongst them. Whether the weight of the atmosphere too much oppressed their spirits ; or whether the gloomy disappointment they had met with after so much fatigue, damped their genius, it is certain there was not a *bon mot* attempted but by Roscius. How far he succeeded your readers shall judge by the following recital. A mask said to him, ‘ Indeed, my friend David, you have out-frescoed all the alfrescosities, and out-paréed all the bal-parés that the public have yet been hummed with ; beware of the critics.’ To which he replied : ‘ The sweet swan of Avon will with his melodious notes sooth them to good humour ; and by a poetic flight, transport them, as we have done, to such a scene of Elysium as they will wish to last for ever.’”

The writer gives the details of his expenses on this occasion. The contrast between the past and present time, with the cost for travelling a hundred years ago and now, is not the least curious part of the account.

Ticket	.	.	.	.	£1	1	0
Post-chaise to Stratford, at 3s. per mile the							
last sixty miles	.	.	.	.	12	0	0
Expenses upon the road	.	.	.	.	1	11	6
Lodging	.	.	.	.	6	6	0
Board and other expenses	.	.	.	.	4	12	0
Masquerade dress	.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Masquerade ticket	.	.	.	.	0	10	6
Occasional impositions to know the hour of							
the day, &c.	.	.	.	.	1	8	0

Chair hire	2	2	0
Servants	0	12	0
Post-chaise back	12	0	0
Expenses upon the road	1	14	0
	<hr/>		
	£49	2	0

A very fine full-length portrait of Garrick, executed by Gainsborough for the Corporation of Stratford, hangs in the Town Hall. He is represented with one arm round a column surmounted by a bust of Shakespeare; and in the Museum is a half-length portrait of him as "Kiteley", in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour". The painting in the Town Hall enables us to form an excellent notion of his personal appearance; and it may be accepted as a striking likeness. The countenance, highly pleasing, is not marked by any strong expression; but the features are just such as can be imagined capable of giving power to a great variety of mental conceptions; and it must have been the facial flexibility and force of expression which enabled Garrick to assume so successfully characters, many of which could never have produced such effect by actors whose features were more marked and strongly cast. While his countenance was not moulded by nature exclusively for tragedy or for comedy, it was capable of expressing the passions peculiar to both by the actor's perfect conception and intense feeling. In comedy it was not a face to be laughed at before a word could be uttered: and in tragedy it had to be lighted up by the fire of the soul. Mr. Fitzgerald, in his "Life of David Garrick", gives an interesting account of the impression he made, on a spectator, in the character of Hamlet, played by him not long previous to his leaving the stage. At first it did not seem he could sustain his reputation in personifying the youthful prince; but after awhile his years and appearance were so thoroughly lost sight of that all in-

consistency vanished and was lost in the charm of voice and action. There were certain characters which his admirable "make up" contributed to render unexpectedly successful. Such was "Abel Drugger", in Ben Jonson's "Alchymist", which, like Mr. Phelps's "Bottom" in "A Midsummer's Night's Dream", may be called a creation. Should Dr. Kingsley's proposal to commemorate Garrick's visit to Stratford be entertained, an exhibition of portraits and of engravings could form one department, together with portraits of contemporary actors, as suggested by Mr. Waller. To this project I now come, passing over all details of the festival of 1864, called the Tercentenary Celebration of the Birthday of Shakespeare; referring my readers to Mr. Robert E. Hunter's elaborate, well-written, and impartial account* of this remarkable event. Remarkable it was in several points of view; and, although there may be differences in opinion as to the most worthy mode of celebrating the Poet's natal day, there can be no dispute as to the earnestness and zeal shown by several of the inhabitants of Stratford and its vicinity; and if Mr. Hunter had been able to show a completed balance-sheet, it would have been proved that some of them confirmed their sincerity by sacrifices which amounted to a pecuniary martyrdom. Should Dr. Kingsley, the Mayor, be able to lay the foundation of a commemoration of the visit of Garrick, he will have large experiences to aid him; he will be able to estimate properly the solid and permanent worth of what, five years ago, was considered as indispensable; and he will probably be induced

* *Shakespeare and Stratford-upon-Avon*, a "Chronicle of the Time"; comprising the salient facts and traditions, biographical, topographical, and historical, connected with the poet and his birth-place, together with a full record of the *Tercentenary Celebration*. London, Whittaker and Co. Stratford-upon-Avon, Adams.

to abandon as worse than worthless much that was then sanctioned almost universally.

It is a costly luxury for any town or city to import from a distance, for a special occasion, companies of professional actors, even if their services are given gratuitously; but it is infinitely more costly when a theatre has to be constructed, and scenery, music, and other necessities have to be hired; yet the spirited people of Stratford in 1864 found money enough to provide these expensive entertainments among others; and, as the public did not respond adequately, they sealed their sincerity and earnestness by heavy pecuniary sacrifices. It may and will be asked whether it was prudent to undertake this obviously unremunerative kind of entertainment? Can it be said there was on the part of the public a full appreciation of the efforts of the people of Stratford when, after all the feasting and shows had passed away, the receipts did not balance the expenses by many thousands of pounds? The number of people who attended, if it is to be estimated by the staff of officers, it may be supposed was enormous. The vice-presidents were one hundred and seventy; the local committee, fifty-one; but as we have seen more vice-presidents in a society than members, no reliance on the strength of an assembly can be placed in a showy, numerous staff; and the vice-presidents at Stratford did not represent a large multitude; they did not, indeed, represent money enough to pay the costs, to say nothing of the scholarship and the statue!

At the same time there was a committee working in London, soliciting subscriptions for a similar object; and appealing to the country. This committee, I believe, succeeded, as well as that of Stratford, in enlisting a large number of names. What the result was I do not know; but it could not have been successful. The name of Shakespeare is not a name, at any given moment, to raise money by, or to excite

enthusiasm ; its influence, though great, wherever civilisation and education are well rooted, is not universal ; but it has to await time and tuition ; and in any renewal of the celebration of Shakespeare's birthday, or in commemorating Garrick's visit to Stratford, which is, indeed, much the same thing, it is wise to review the past and gain wisdom from experience. It is probable that the failures of the past may only be preparatives to the success of the future.

In 1864 I told a friend on the London Committee, that I felt assured all appeals to the various towns for money would be attended with no good result ; but I suggested that a proposal to establish readings of the plays of Shakespeare in every town, would be likely to meet favour ; and that from this source a very large sum of money might not only be raised ; but be retained to be applied for some permanent object that should be worthy of the occasion. I considered that theatricals must necessarily involve expenses which would entirely exhaust the money received ; and leave the promoters in the end, after much trouble, no richer than they were at the beginning. I believe this suggestion will bear consideration on the present occasion, for which it may be somewhat modified. As originally designed, there seems every reason to believe it would have succeeded well ; although, no doubt, objections would have been raised, just as objections are raised to everything novel. I do not think so meanly of our Shakespearean students as to suppose there are not a few in or around every town in Great Britain, capable of making the writings of their master a source of amusement and instruction in a public hall, or in a theatre ; neither do I think they are so void of elocutionary powers as to be unable to make their acquirements palatable to large audiences. It need not be expected that all should be equally capable ; but the noble object would plead for deficiencies, were they not covered by others' excellencies. Had

the experiment been made, it is probable some thousands of pounds would have been realised ; while the entire country would have assisted in the pleasing task of making the works of Shakespeare more generally known. To me it seems that extending a taste and relish for his writings, should be the main basis of any public gathering to testify our appreciation of the great teacher.

Garrick, in connection with Stratford-upon-Avon, cannot be dissociated from Shakespeare ; and lectures on the works of the latter, and readings from his plays, should, I think, be the main provision for, at least, a week's entertainments, made accessible, by low charges, to the working classes. It is most likely that, on such an occasion, some of our first professional actors would offer their services ; some, whose stars are not yet in the ascendant, would, doubtless, assist ; while the locality, it may be supposed, would supply, at least, a few. Garrick did not undergo, what is absurdly thought indispensable, the tedious drudgery of a provincial stage-training ; neither was he helped by the favour of the press, or the prejudices of the critics : he walked from a counting-house upon the stage ; and the public at once received and sealed him as its own. The word *patronage* should therefore not be used in any celebration connected with Garrick. Where patronage is true, it is seldom ostentatious ; but it too frequently means only the appearance of aid from rank or position, without the reality : it is one of the specious pretexts in which destined failures are often clothed.

There is a portion of Mr. Hunter's Chronicle of the Tercentenary Celebration, which might be reprinted with good effect with a view to extensive distribution ; and its issue on the forthcoming occasion would be most appropriate. It comprises the sermons preached in the church of Stratford by Dr. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin ; and by Dr. Words-

worth, Bishop of St. Andrews, which are conceived in a spirit so enlightened and philosophical, and evince such a correct and elevated appreciation of the genius and the moral and religious influence of the works of Shakespeare, that they deserve to be universally read and studied ; and particularly by that ascetic and prejudiced portion of society which cheats itself into a belief that in refusing to hear the teachings of the drama upon the stage or to read them in the closet, it is doing something religious and commendable.

It is Shakespeare who has conferred the greatest character on the literature of our country ; and the great importance of a nation's literature, Dr. Trench thus set forth: "The work of its noblest and most gifted sons ; the utterance of all which is deepest and nearest to their hearts, it evokes and interprets the unuttered greatness which is latent in others, but which, except for them, would never have come to the birth. By it the mighty heart of a people may be animated and quickened to heroic enterprise and worthiest endeavour. With the breath of strong and purifying emotions, it should stir to a healthy activity the waters of a nation's life, which would else have stagnated and putrefied and corrupted. Having such offices, being capable of such effects as these, of what vast concern it is that it should deal with the loftiest problems which man's existence presents ; solve them so far as they are capable of solution here ; point to a solution behind the veil where this only is possible ; that whatever it handles, things high or things low, things eternal or things temporal, spiritual or natural, it should be sound, should be healthy ; clear, so far as possible, of offence ; enlisting our sympathies on the side of the just, the pure, and the true. Such a poet, we possess in Shakespeare. For must we not, first of all, thankfully acknowledge a healthiness, a moral soundness, in

all, or nearly all, which he has written ? Then, too, if he deals with enormous crimes ; and he could not do otherwise ; for these, alike in fiction and in reality, constitute the tragedy of life : yet the crimes which he deals with travel the common road of human guilt, with no attempt on his part to extend and enlarge the domain of possible sin ; and certainly with no desire to paint it in any other colours than its own. And in his dialogue, if we put him beside those of his own age and time, how little, by comparison with them, is there which we wish away from him, would fain that he had never written. There are some of his contemporaries whose jewels, when they offer such, must be plucked out of the very mire ; who seem to revel in loathsome and disgusting images, in all which, for poor human nature's sake, we would willingly put out of sight altogether. What an immeasurable gulf in this matter divides him from them ! While of that which we *must* regret even in him, a part we have a right to ascribe to an age, I will not say of less purity, but of less refinement, and coarser than our own ; and of that which cannot be thus explained, let us at all events remark how separable almost always it is from the context, leaving, when thus separated, all which remains, perfectly wholesome and pure."

Extracts convey but a faint idea of the masterly manner in which Dr. Trench set forth the great moral and intellectual tendency of the writings of Shakespeare ; and I must refrain from quoting more here than a portion of the conclusion of his sermon : " I will only ask you, each to imagine to himself this England of ours without a Shakespeare ; in which he had never lived or sung. What a crown would be stricken from her brow ! How would she come down from the pre-eminence of her place as nursing mother of the foremost poet whom the world has seen, whom, we are almost bold to prophesy, it ever will see ! Think how much poorer, intellectu-

ally, yea, and morally, every one of us would be ; what would have to be withdrawn from circulation, of wisest sayings, of profoundest maxims of life-wisdom, which have now been absorbed into the very tissue of our hearts and minds ! What regions of our fancy, peopled now with marvellous shapes of strength, of grace, of beauty, of dignity, with beings which have far more reality for us than most of those whom we meet in our daily walk, would be empty and depopulated ? And, remember, that this which we speak of would not be our loss alone, or the loss of those who have lived already ; but the disappearance as well of all that delight, of all that instruction, which, so long as the world endures, he will diffuse in circles ever larger, as the recognition of him in his unparagoned and unapproachable greatness becomes every day more unquestioned as he moves in ages yet to come ‘through ever wider avenues of fame’”.

Dr. Wordsworth, in the afternoon, addressed an auditory, crowded as that was in the morning. After some preliminary remarks on the order and excellence of creation, he observed that no apology was needed for speaking in that sacred place of one whom God had raised up three centuries ago, from among the inhabitants of the adjoining town, to be at once a mighty prince over the thoughts of men, through the pre-eminence of his intellectual powers ; and through the richness of his genius, a munificent benefactor for ages upon ages, not to his own country and nation only, but to the world at large. Neither was the time, he added, even of this holy day, at all improper for such a commemoration.

“Entering then”, he said, “upon the subject before us with no mistrust, I shall, in the first place, be fully justified, I believe, in assuming that this celebration would not have taken place ; would not, certainly, have been promoted so generally, or conducted on so grand a scale, unless it had been commonly felt that the works of Shakespeare are plainly

on the right side ; the side of what is true, and honest, and just, and pure, and lovely, and of good report ; in a word, on the side of virtue and of true religion. Nor can it be said, in this case at least, that the popular voice has erred. It is in accordance with the voice of one whose testimony upon such a point will be accepted as of the highest and most unquestionable authority : I allude to the reverend author of 'The Christian Year'. In the lectures which he delivered as Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and which were published twenty years ago, while specifying the notes or characteristics by which poets of the first rank are to be discerned, the distinguishing mark which he requires, first of all, is CONSISTENCY. The first class poet, he remarks, is *throughout consistent, and in harmony with himself*. And where does the critic look for his examples in proof of this proposition ? He brings forward two poets, who flourished in the same, that is our own, country, and at the same time. First, he produces Spenser, in whom he sees *everywhere sustained the same easy form and look of true nobility* ; and next he produces Shakespeare,—and this consistency of character which, as a first and most decisive test, assigns our poet to the highest rank, in what is it to be found ? It is to be found in *the universal impression which his works convey*. And for this the lecturer confidently appeals to the memory of his hearers : 'Recollect', says he, 'I beseech you, how you each felt when you read those plays for the first time. Do you not remember that all along, as the drama proceeded, you were led to take the part of whatever good and worthy characters it contained ; and more especially when you reached the end and closed the book, you felt that your inmost heart had received a spur which was calculated to urge you on to virtue ; and to virtue, not merely such as is apt, without much reality, to warm and excite the feelings of the young ; but such as consists in the actual practice of a stricter,

more pure, more upright, more industrious, more religious life? And as for the passages of a coarser sort, here and there to be met with in those plays, any one may perceive that they are to be attributed, in part, not to the author but to the age in which he lived; and partly they were introduced as slaves in a state of intoxication were introduced into the presence of the Spartan youths—to serve as warnings and create disgust.’ Nor do I scruple to consent to the still higher praise which the same unexceptionable judge has bestowed in another part of his work upon the same two poets. ‘Not only’, he says, ‘did they measure everything by a certain innate sense of what is virtuous and becoming; not only did they teach to hate all profaneness, but they trained and exercised men’s minds to virtue and religion, inasmuch as each of them is wont to refer all things which the eye beholds to the heavenly and the true, whether as occurring in the actions of men and upon the stage of life, or as seen in the glorious spectacle everywhere presented in the heavens and the earth.’

“But there is another consciousness no less generally felt, which has tended to give to this celebration its comprehensive character; I mean the consciousness of our poet’s nationality. Like Homer to the Greeks, he is *the poet* of us Englishmen. And as we look for no better, so we desire no other.—And now, I think, it may be said we see the first rude outline of a character which, in paying honour to the man, we shall do well to contemplate; for it is not merely as a poet who wrote, in a high and genuine sense of the word, religiously; but as a man, a Christian man, that we, as a congregation of Christians, should be content to honour Shakespeare. Let us see, then, what he was as such. Undazzled by the world, and courting nothing which the world can give, we find him indifferent to the fate even of the produce of his own immortal mind, and throwing his

pearls with child-like simplicity, into the lap of time, as if unconscious of their amazing worth. A man of a less simple, or less sober temper, after he had attained to prosperity and to fame, would never have chosen, when not yet fifty years old, to settle down for the remainder of his days in rural quietude, and in the place which had known him not only in obscurity but in poverty and distress.* But seeking, as he did, to shun, rather than to court, distinction, the fact that 'a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country and in his own house', tended rather to recommend this choice to him the more; happy if only he might be allowed to study nature, and to cultivate his own moral being in order that he might be 'ripe' in God's good time.

"We know how he has written! What truth has he not taught? What duty has he not enforced? What relation of life, and of living things, rational or irrational, has he not illustrated? How has he looked *through* nature; and, above all, into the heart of man, with the intuitive knowledge with which the skilful artisan inspects the mechanism of the watch which he himself has made! And knowing these things, we know enough to teach us how little true greatness is dependant upon external circumstances. We know enough to shame us, if any of us should complain of the difficulties and disadvantages in which God has placed him. Shakespeare lived to become a teacher of the world, so long as time shall last. And, what deserves to be commemorated more especially in this place, Shakespeare lived to receive, as a benefactor, the blessings of the poor, not forgetting them, we may be sure, while he lived, inasmuch as he remembered them when he died."

As I have before observed, the sermons of these two

* "Comparatively poor" would be better; it does not appear that he was ever in distress.

eminent divines deserve to be printed and widely circulated : they should be spread abroad, sown indeed, wherever the English language is read. They form, with the speeches delivered at the Banquet, the solid and enduring portions of the Festival in 1864. The concerts and the theatrical performances, excellent as they were, have no such claims : they gratified for the hour ; and are the continual and common amusements which are, more or less, at the command of all ; and these fugitive pastimes, as Mr. Hunter's " Chronicle " shows, were unremuneratively costly, while the printing of hundreds of thousands of the sermons, public lectures on Shakespeare, and readings of his plays, would produce a lasting good effect without a severe and unjust taxation of the purses of a few generous individuals.

The visit to Stratford-upon-Avon which gave rise to the foregoing remarks, was undertaken in company with Mr. J. G. Waller, on September 26th, in order to superintend the erection of a mural brass tablet in the church, to the memory of Frederick William Fairholt, who bequeathed his Shakespearean collections to the town of Stratford. We were joined there on the same day by Mr. Joseph Mayer, President of the Cheshire and Lancashire Historic Society ; and by Mr. H. B. Mackenison, F.G.S., of Hythe, in Kent ; and we passed together five days very agreeably. Our visit cannot be mentioned without recording, at the same time, attentions and hospitalities received from Mr. E. F. Flower of the Hill ; from Mr. W. O. Hunt ; and from Dr. Kingsley, the mayor ; and I avail myself also of this opportunity to acknowledge the kind manner in which the vicar, the Rev. Dr. Collis, granted permission for the memorial to be set up in the church ; and for his generous refusal to take the customary fee.

It will not be out of place to append to this record of our visit an extract from Mr. Fairholt's manuscript memoranda

written at Stratford. At all events it affords a pleasing testimony of enthusiasm :—

“*August 29, 1839.*—Paid my first visit to Shakespearo’s birthplace. It was dark when the coach set me down at Stratford; and I felt an extra degree of excitement at each mile nearer the town. So after leaving my luggage with the waiter, and inquiring the way, I sallied off in the dark to visit this immortal house. I soon recognised it. But, alas! that portion once shewn as the Swan and Maidenhead has been renewed by a fronting of red brick. The interior, they say, has not been much altered; but the exterior parts, the straight, plain front, and adjoining sash-windows of a modern residence for a labouring man, one story high, such as you frequently see in the small suburban streets near London. Let us try to forget this rascally spoliation. That portion remains untouched in which he was born. I gazed at it as well as the darkness would permit, crossed the road, returned again, and felt most deeply sorry that it was too late for a visit then. With regret I passed on; and again returned for another final look, until the morning arrived. I then walked up the street, to stroll round the town; but it was in vain for me to collect my thoughts, or leave the street in which the house was situate. At the top of it I suddenly turned; and, walking back as fast as I could, fully resolved to stay no longer. On my inquiring, fearfully, if it were not too late to see it then, I was answered: ‘Oh, dear, no! Walk in, sir, and I’ll fetch a light immediately.’ No words ever sounded so delightfully.”

Temple Place,

Strood by Rochester,

December 1868.

JOSEPH ADDISON

AND

SIR ANDREW FOUNTAINE;

OR THE

ROMANCE OF A PORTRAIT.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.
THEW & SON, KING'S LYNN.

1858.

ROMANCE OF A PORTRAIT.

From the "Athenæum."

New Bond Street is just now the scene of a startling bit of romance. The House of Commons, it is known, has lately granted 2,000*l.* a year for the purchase of a gallery of authentic portraits of historical Englishmen. Now, in the name of safety, what is an authentic portrait? Suppose the commissioners deceived in their choice? What if they give us the face of Gondomar for the face of Raleigh—or the wig of Kirke for the peruke of Marlborough? Why then they mislead the public. They betray the biographer. They falsify history.

The Bond Street mystery must sorely puzzle Lord Stanhope and his brethren. What evidence is sufficient to guarantee the authenticity of a portrait? Let the reader put a case. Suppose a century hence a "portrait of the Duke of Wellington" shall be found hanging on the walls of Apsley House? Suppose it be the only portrait of the Duke existing in the house. Suppose it shall have always been called the Duke's portrait? Suppose all the Duke's biographers and historians shall have described it as the true embodiment and expression of the Duke's peculiar genius? Suppose it shall have been engraved again and again, until the public know it as familiarly as they know the prints of Cromwell or Napoleon, or the face of Albert the Third on the current coin? Suppose it shall have been painted, as the chief treasure of the house, into groups of the Wellington family by eminent members of the Royal Academy, and shall have been duly criticized at the

May Exhibitions at Kensington Gore? Suppose it shall have been selected by the oldest friends of the house, (men with memories going back close to the Wellington time, men who shall boast of having seen the hero of Waterloo, and danced at the Court of Queen Victoria) as the model for a great national monument? Suppose, at their instance it shall have been used by the most eminent of the successors of Flaxman and Baily as such model, and that such monument of the Duke shall have been duly, and without suspicion, erected in the most conspicuous part of Westminster Abbey? Suppose—but that will do. Might not a portrait, so credited, be considered authentic? Very likely—and yet the New Bond Street romance would seem to prove that this very picture, with all the bloom of proof upon it, *might* be only a poor copy of a portrait of Lord Hardinge, hung up by the great Duke out of kindly feeling for his friend!

Now to our tale. Every one has heard of the famous portrait of Addison at Holland House. Addison lived and died in that picturesque dwelling. The portrait is the chief charm of the place. Visitors gather round it to chat about *Spectators* and *Tatlers*—about Swift and Steele, and Pope and Arbuthnot; the young and handsome face beaming with benignant humour on the group. Who does not remember the rapture with which Macaulay hangs on that pleasant countenance? Who has not seen Leslie's admirable picture of the Fox family—Lord Holland and Lady Holland—and their confidential friend Mr. Allen, with the celebrated portrait brought in to complete the quartett of hospitality, wit, genius and refinement? Who has not heard of the subscription got up by Rogers and Mackintosh, and other wise men of the west, to place a marble copy of that genial presence among the great dead? Who has not gazed with wonder and veneration on the memorial in the Abbey, executed by the late sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott, from the Holland House portrait—or

read the brilliant description of it in one of Macaulay's most delightful passages? Yet, we grieve to say, all this admiration and this emotion has been thrown away. The gentleman smiling in wig and claret-coloured dress, at Holland House, is not Addison. The same gentleman transferred to Leslie's picture is not Addison. The same gentleman stripped of his wig in Westmacott's marble, is not Addison. By a frolic of the muse of history, all this vicarious honour has been heaped on a distinguished personage of the Augustan age, Sir Andrew Fountaine, of Narford Hall, in Norfolk, Vice Chamberlain to Queen Caroline, and the successor of Sir Isaac Newton in the wardenship of the Mint. What is fame? asks Byron. What *is* fame? Grose dies gloriously at his guns—and Grove lives immortal in your gazettes!

The discovery of this surprising fact was made in this way. Mr. Fountaine, of Narford, descendant and representative of Sir Andrew, enters a print-shop, and sees what he is told is a portrait of Addison in Leslie's picture. Remembering the familiar face at home—preserved in three distinct portraits at Narford—he answers, "This is no portrait of Addison, but it *is* of my ancestor Sir Andrew Fountaine." This scene occurred some years ago, when Leslie's engraving was just out; but country gentlemen are careless of glory; and Mr. Fountaine, though a collector himself, enjoyed his laugh, and told his story pleasantly to his Narford friends over their port, cracking his jests at the wise London critics, but so far as the unprivileged world was concerned he let the discovery sleep until an enthusiastic friend took it up. But, the story told, the whole is done. The proofs of his assertion are ample, and indeed seem to us irresistible. Mr. Fountaine has now brought to London the originals of his ancestor; one, a miniature, we have before us as we write; the other, *the original of which the Holland House picture is a copy*, lies at Mr. Farrar's in New Bond Street, where we have seen it,

where hundreds have seen it, and where, we have authority for saying, it may be seen by any one interested in the matter who chooses to call.

But how comes a portrait of Sir Andrew Fountaine at Holland House? This is easily suggested, though not proved. Fountaine was the intimate friend of Swift, Pope, and Addison. With Swift, indeed, his relations were almost fraternal. Swift's original drawings for *The Tale of a Tub* are still at Narford—unless, indeed, they are lent to Mr. Murray for the use of his coming edition. Presentation books from Swift are also at Narford. Fountaine—a scholar, a traveller, and a collector—was probably a visitor at Holland House. Family traditions also connect in friendship some of the Fountaines with Sir Stephen Fox. How the copy of his portrait got there—how it ever came to be considered as an Addisonian original—we are not able to say. Can anybody help us to clear up the mystery? For ourselves, we feel no certainty that the confusion between Addison and Fountaine is the whole of the mystery. There is an engraving of Congreve—the Kit-Cat portrait—wonderfully like this Fountaine original.

ADDISON AND FOUNTAINE.

To the Editor of the "Athenæum."

Sir,—I was not so enthusiastic in the matter of Addison's portrait as you suppose. I heard the story from Mr. Fountaine two years ago, with some interesting details respecting the connection of Sir Andrew Fountaine and Swift. Having gone to Narford, at the request of a distinguished literary gentleman, to ask Mr. Fountaine to consent to the publication of his valuable Swift correspondence, he mentioned the story again, and I determined to investigate it. A miniature

of Sir Andrew Fountaine was sent to me, and with this miniature the attack on the great "Whig Tradition" of Holland House commenced. The statement in some *London Papers* is incorrect so far, that the fact was not discovered by seeing the picture in Holland House; but as stated in the *Athenæum*, by Mr. Fountaine seeing a proof of an engraving from Leslie's portrait of Addison.

The case is now proved beyond doubt; but should any unbeliever wish to satisfy himself of the truth of the story, let him go to Farrar's, 106, New Bond Street, and there he will see the rather good original portrait, of which the Holland House picture is but an indifferent copy.

It is true Lord Macaulay is a very great authority on such matters; and it is a very grave thing for an anonymous scribbler to contradict any of his assertions. In fact, I feel as the manager of Drury Lane *ought* to have felt, when he commenced his speech to the electors of Bridport, by saying, "*Me* and the Queen have had a difference." In the next edition of his Lordship's essays he must alter some remarks he makes respecting the Holland House portrait of Addison. He says, "it still hangs in Holland House;" now it does not and never did. He goes on to say, "The features are pleasing, the complexion remarkably fair." This is quite true: Sir Andrew Fountaine *was remarkable* for the beauty of his complexion. "But in the expression," he says, "we trace rather the gentleness of his disposition, than the force and keenness of his intellect." This is a curious loophole. Lord Macaulay can now turn round on the bewildered "wise men of the west," and say, "Why I always suspected the portrait."

But there is an episode in this case so ludicrous, and yet so ill-natured, that I wish the late Mr. Croker had lived to investigate it.

It appears that Addison's widow erected no monument to his memory, which I am not surprised at, she

looking upon him as a scribbler and a bore, a fact not uncommon with the wives of great literary men. Indeed, I have seen the proofs of a discovery made but a short time ago, that the widow of the immortal Shakspeare married a man called Richard James, who, it is believed, was a barber. An editor of Shakspeare has made this discovery; but I am bound in fairness to state, that another learned editor, with pious eyes and uplifted hands, protests against so degrading a story.

But to return to Addison—no monument was erected. What was to be done? The “wise men of the west” determined that this scandal should be repaired; they met in 1809, and agreed to erect a monument. One can fancy the enthusiastic meetings, the intelligent sub-committee, all men of taste, the debates as to who was to execute so great a work; and when rival sculptors met at dinner the carving knives were sheathed. At last Sir Richard Westmacott, the friend of Lord Holland, was selected.

After carefully perusing the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that period, I find that the quarrelling about this statue, amongst the critics, while being executed by Sir Richard Westmacott, was quite awful; but when the statue was completed, the storm raged more furiously than ever as to where it was to be placed.

A gentleman, signing himself a “True Englishman,” probably a disappointed sculptor, was the chief opponent to the statue being placed in Edward the Confessor's Chapel, where it was proposed to erect it. To this place the “True Englishman” objected on aristocratic grounds; but it was decided against him, and the foundations were actually commenced, when suddenly the “True Englishman” took a new ground; he discovered that, in laying the foundation, they had disturbed the remains of Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III. He called on all the antiquaries of

England to assist him in putting a stop to such profanation. He was answered by an "Old Westminster," who not content with prose, bombarded his opponent with such frightful poetry, that it would have annihilated any one but the "True Englishman." However, the antiquaries came to his rescue, and raised the cry of "Sacrilege." Conceited archæologists—imaginary descendants of Thomas of Woodstock—joined in the fray, and the tempest was at its height.

Fancy thirty prize fights for the championship of England going on in a very limited space, and one has a *faint* idea of the contest that raged over the unconscious bones of Thomas of Woodstock.

The cry of sacrilege was successful—the "True Englishman" (now writing under the title of "J. C.") was victorious; and it was agreed that Addison's statue should be erected in Poets' Corner. One would have thought that even the "True Englishman" would have been satisfied at this; not a bit of it—he and the "Old Westminster" went at it again with increased fury.

The "True Englishman" protesting against placing it by the side of the statue of Handel, by Roubilliac, the "Old Westminster," of course, took the other side, and the row commenced again.

A gentleman, I think, of the name of "Plato," tried to throw oil on the troubled waters, and pacify the belligerent critics, but both the combatants turned upon him with such astounding ferocity, that Plato quickly disappeared from the scene, and reasoned no more.

At last the question was settled, and with a grand procession (no doubt with a literary duke or marquis leading it, Rogers and Co. bringing up the rear), the statue was placed in Poets' Corner.

The "True Englishman," of course, left the scene of combat with an awful sarcasm on Sir Richard Westmacott.

He says, "Joseph Addison was a humble man — so was his sculptor."*

And yet, after all these controversies, squabbles, and jealousies, after all these war cries of — "Sacrilege!" "Bones of our ancestors!" and "Handel!" what had the "wise men of the west" erected? A most unsatisfactory statue, *not* of Addison, but of "Sir Andrew Fountaine," without his wig. For I have it from the highest authority, that Sir Richard Westmacott executed the monument from the "totally exploded portrait of Addison at Holland House."

If this episode which I relate is true, perhaps some arrangement may be entered into for the substitution of the name of Fountaine for that of Addison.

If it is not true, the case would be still more mysterious than it is; for if Sir R. Westmacott took the statue from another authentic portrait of Addison, Lord Holland and his friends being visitors at the studio to see the progress of the "immortal" work, must, or at least, ought to have discovered that their own authentic portrait was a "SHAM."

The surviving subscribers to the monument, naturally the oldest and wisest men in London, will perhaps agree to some amicable compromise. They will not be irritated by the sarcasms of the "True Englishman" who lies quietly in his grave. Peace to his ashes, — he saved those of Thomas of Woodstock.

And why should Sir Andrew Fountaine not be in Westminster Abbey? It would be a proud thing for me, as a Norfolk man, to have discovered this fact. I believe that he is the only countyman *there*, but I know that there are three Norfolk celebrities figuring in the doubtful chamber of Madame Tussaud's.

* It afterwards appeared that the "True Englishman" was a Mr. John Carter; if he had lived how he would have enjoyed this story.

Sir Andrew Fountaine was one of the most distinguished men of his time. Born of an ancient family of the county of Norfolk, he entered into the University of Oxford at an early age, where he displayed remarkable talent. He was selected, as the most distinguished scholar of his year, to deliver the Latin oration before our great Protestant deliverer, William III., who was so pleased with him that he knighted him on the spot.

He formed part of the brilliant embassy of Lord Macclesfield to the Electress Sophia, in 1701.

He there was a conspicuous ornament of the most brilliant circle in Europe. As a proof of what I say, the great Leibnitz, the most universal genius the world ever produced, who was so great in theology (as is stated in that most valuable work, published a short time ago by the late lamented John Kemble, entitled *State Papers and Correspondence*,) that he was offered a Cardinal's hat and the librarianship of the Vatican, if he consented to change his religion, at page 253 of that work, thus addresses Sir Andrew Fountaine, then a young man of twenty-four, in a letter from Berlin.

“ M. Minkenin thanks me for having procured for him and his son the honour of your acquaintance: it is a correspondence, at least, among persons like you and him, by which all parties are gainers, the only commerce in which that takes place. But as for me, I am he who derives the most advantage from it, and your deserts are the capital from which I derive the profit. I have no doubt that M. Morel at Arnstadt, and M. Imhof at Nürnberg, will also be much obliged to me. One is fortunate when one has a person like yourself to produce. The Queen still thinks herself debtor for having introduced you, although you were more than sufficiently so by Madam the Electress's letter; and Mademoiselle de Pillnitz, as

well as the other ladies, often ask me news of you; not to speak of your wit, your good looks, or rather your beauty, remains engraved in their imagination, and makes as much noise at Court, as your learning does among our *savans*, who have had the advantage of your acquaintance."

Those who have seen the beautiful miniature of Sir Andrew Fountaine now in London, will agree with Leibnitz, that his beauty equalled his talents.

He became afterwards the constant correspondent of Leibnitz, who frequently consulted him, Sir Andrew Fountaine being one of the most learned Anglo-Saxon scholars in Europe.

He published a treatise on Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish Coins in Hicke's *Thesaurus Septentrionalis*.

He was intimate with Pope and Addison, and above all, he was the first *real* friend Swift ever found during his stormy life—the first man who took him by the hand and treated him like a gentleman, and introduced him to his distinguished friends as an equal.

Sir Andrew accompanied in 1707, the accomplished Thomas Lord Pembroke (who was then Lord Lieutenant) to Ireland, where he found Swift living in comparative obscurity. Sir Andrew introduced him to Lord Pembroke, and they all three became most intimate. They returned together to England in the following year, and Swift then resided with Sir Andrew; and now, for the first time, Swift's talents were appreciated by the great London world. No house *ought* to contain more interesting correspondence with respect to the life of Swift than that of Narford.

The original pictures of *The Tale of a Tub* have been at Narford for 150 years; they are supposed to be by Swift's own hand, and to have been sent to Sir Andrew Fountaine to be corrected. Sir Andrew Fountaine, a friend

of the Vanhomrigh family, also introduced Swift to the unfortunate Vanessa.

With Pope his friendship terminated in a manner that does no honour to the memory of the illustrious poet. The reason of their quarrel was that Pope, like many other wise men, thought to advance his interests by paying court to Lady Suffolk, instead of Queen Caroline. Sir Andrew was indignant at this. After which Pope attacked him in the most malignant manner, accusing him of having collected nothing but the most worthless curiosities.

“The well dissembled emerald on his hand” is still in the possession of Mr. Fountaine; and I think Mr. Hancock, of Bond Street, would pass a very good verdict as to the utter falsehood of the libel.

The good-natured Sir Andrew only laughed at his assailant, and Pope’s bust is still to be seen in his library at Narford.*

Sir Andrew made many tours through Italy, where he formed a great friendship with Cosmo de Medici, with whom a correspondence is still preserved. When he arrived at any Italian town he held a kind of levée, all the artists and distinguished men hastening to meet him.

In matters of art, I am told by the highest authorities, that he was 150 years in advance of his age. Those who have had the pleasure of seeing the unrivalled collection of Majolica, and other treasures collected by him, will readily believe this. When I went to one of the most eminent connoisseurs in London with the miniature of Sir Andrew, he said, “That is like everything else of Sir Andrew Fountaine’s I ever saw, perfect.”

* I should not have mentioned this attack, only it has been already alluded to in the *Illustrated London News*.

Those who have seen the beautiful illuminated missal from the Narford collection, pronounced by every one whose opinion is of any value, to be one of the finest specimens of Italian art in existence, will also agree as to the wonderful taste exhibited in securing such a gem.

There are other works in Narford which would be valuable to the historian, particularly a Prayer Book of Henry VIII., with his apparently dying words written in it by his own hand, a book that Mr. Froude would like to see.

Surely the companion of Pope, Addison, and Swift, a man who could form a collection like this, was one of the *most* distinguished men of his time.

He was the trusted friend of Caroline of Anspach, wife of George II., and became her vice-chamberlain; indeed, so highly did Caroline appreciate his great abilities, that she requested him to superintend the education of her favourite son William.

If he had kept a journal, no one could have given a better report of the secret affairs of the Courts of George I. and II. His memoirs would most probably have been as interesting as those of Lord Hervey; but Sir A. Fountaine was a gentleman, and did not betray those with whom "he sat at meat."

On the death of Sir I. Newton he became warden of the Mint, which situation he held till his death, in 1753.

I am aware I have not been able to write the memoir that ought to be written of Sir A. Fountaine. I believe that it will be written by some more practised hand than mine. But I think enough has been stated to justify me in proposing, that if, on investigation, the statue is really that of Sir A. Fountaine, the inscription written by a celebrated nobleman, assisted by Bishop Hurd, should be altered, and some suitable memorial to Sir A. Fountaine substituted in its place.

Lord Macaulay, of course, may object to this, as he went into raptures when the great Whig statue was at last comfortably installed. He thus described it after giving a hard hit at the unfeeling widow. "At length, in our own time, his image, skilfully graven, appeared in Poets' Corner. It represents him as we conceive him, clad in his dressing gown, and freed from his wig; stepping from his parlour at Chelsea, into his trim little garden, with the account of the Everlasting Club, or the Loves of Hilpa and Shalum, just finished for the next day's *Spectator*, in his hand." All these raptures for the wigless Sir Andrew!

Of course a new statue of Addison must be erected; and I have no doubt the subscriptions in this country and America would be immense. It ought to be done, if only to preserve one of Lord Macaulay's most magnificent passages.

In conclusion it may be said by some—"Why not let the matter rest? Sir Andrew Fountaine was very handsome, and will do very well for Joseph Addison!" But have we a right (if it is fair to deceive ourselves)—have we a right to deceive the confiding American, whose first visit would be to our National Portrait Gallery, by showing him that which is untrue?

I have it from one of the trustees of the N. P. Gallery, that of course if Lord Holland would have parted with his picture, it would have been purchased; and then the nation would have been put to a useless expense.

I think also, that this story ought to make great historians a little more careful as to their assertions. There may be manuscripts hidden in different country houses of England which would destroy half the histories that have been written.

Have we not seen William Penn, the great man who founded a province in America, equal in intellect and wealth

to kingdoms in Europe,—have we not seen him lately accused and sentenced by Lord Macaulay for the most degrading crimes, on evidence which would not have convicted the lowest pickpocket at the Old Bailey, nay, in spite of direct evidence to the contrary?

And yet here, if the story of the *Athenæum* is true, as true it is, the “man of infallibility,” and the wisest of the wise have been gazing for years with “modest admiration” on the picture of Addison, which now is discovered to be nothing more than an indifferent copy of an original of Sir Andrew Fountaine, with the intellect squeezed out.

A NORFOLK MAN.

My own impression is strong, that Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Andrew Fountaine were friends, and exchanged portraits. I have good grounds for saying this.

I have not alluded to the Congreve question raised by the *Athenæum*, but certainly while there is no resemblance, as far as I can see, between the Addison statue and the Sir A. Fountaine, at Mr. Farrar's, there is the most extraordinary likeness between the picture and the medallion of Congreve in Westminster Abbey.

I have it from the best authority that Sir R. Westmacott did take his statue from the picture at Holland House. Of course, whether it is taken from it or not has nothing to do with respect to the main question, as to the authenticity of the Holland House portrait. Sir R. Westmacott unwigged the picture, and that may account for the unsatisfactory statue.

The following from W. M. T., s very interesting:—

From the “Athenæum.”

The announcement about the portrait of Addison at Holland House has aroused public attention, and I may say has given to the cynical a hearty laugh. The facts are assumed to be a contradiction to a century and a half of tra-

dition, if not of historical evidence. Yet is not this another case of what was so clearly proved in your own paper upon Pope last week, in which the public build up for themselves historical evidences by inference and from circumstances merely imaginary?

The portrait was the well-known portrait of Addison, so lately the grace and ornament of Whig *réunions* on the walls of Holland House—the very Holland House in which Addison lived, with his wife the Countess of Warwick and Holland—the house whose rooms and grounds are filled with Addisonian traditions. It was, as you observe, the only portrait of Addison there, and had always been known as Addison's. Could the authenticity of such a portrait, in such a place, and in the possession as long as it has been known to exist of Lord Holland's family, be doubted by anybody? The harmony and connexion between place, picture, and possessors were perfect, and all the world have believed. It does not seem to have struck any one—not even Lord Macaulay—to attempt to estimate the real value of this apparent, or assumed harmony and connexion. What are the facts? Holland House belonged to the Earls of Warwick and Holland. Addison married the widow of Edward, one of these Earls, and resided in Holland House till he died in 1719. In 1718 the only son of Lady Warwick came of age, and he died in 1721. Up to this period it is probable that the Countess resided there. But on the death of her son, the estate passed to collaterals—either to Edmund, eighth Earl of Warwick, or to Mr. William Edwardes, a Welsh gentleman, cousin to the seventh Earl, long after created Lord Kensington. Thus, we have already a distinct family,—a remote collateral branch,—having, of course, very little sympathy with the Countess; and the probabilities are, none at all with her *mésalliance*, as her second marriage was probably considered at that time. Here, at any rate, we have a

clearing out of Addison, and his widow, and his daughter, from Holland House; and the widow and daughter probably removed to Addison's house at Bilton, where we know that the daughter lived and died in 1797. Is it to be believed that, under these circumstances, the widow would have left behind her a little Kit-Cat portrait of her husband, so light that she might have carried it away in her hand, and in her own carriage? Would she not have taken it with her to Bilton, where, on the daughter's death, were found portraits of Addison's contemporaries, which he himself had possessed? The improbabilities of their leaving it at Holland House to the neglect and possible contempt of their successors, seem to be great, even to be absurd. But we have not yet done with these improbabilities: for no sooner has the house changed hands, than it appears to have been let. In 1726, Mr. Morrice, high bailiff of Westminster, who married Atterbury's daughter, "hired Holland House near Kensington,"—as appears from the *Daily Journal* of the 4th of October, and, as if for ever to destroy all associations of Whigism, Pope's, "Downright Shippen," the celebrated Jacobite, occasionally lived there, and dated his letters thence. Mr. Leigh Hunt, in his *Old Court Suburbs*, says the house appears to have been let "on short leases, and to a variety of persons; sometimes in apartments to lodgers;" all of whom must have neglected and left the portrait behind them. The house and grounds appear to have been finally abandoned to the rats and the weeds. The author of *A Tour through Great Britain*, published in 1748, mournfully describes "this famous old edifice" as having "long been decaying," and recommends its being pulled down. It had, by this time, evidently become too dilapidated even for its humble lodgers, and its rusty iron gates, broken shutters and wilderness of walks—no longer trodden by Whig or Jacobite—may be imagined by the help of Hood's poem of *The Haunted*

House. But the portrait, we are to believe, still hung in the darkness within upon the mouldering walls: and there it was found by an utter stranger, Mr. Henry Fox, who happened to take the property on a lease of lives, and finally purchased the house and made it habitable. Henry Fox was, in 1763, created Lord Holland—the title which, in the Rich family, had become extinct, being, I presume, suggested by the name of the property. Lord Holland died in 1773, and the house was again “unfurnished;” and by 1796, when his son, Stephen Fox Lord Holland, returned from the Continent, was once more “out of repair,” and was “fitted up for his residence at considerable expense.” The little marketable portrait of Addison, however, defied all these dilapidations and vicissitudes, and was then and ever after found still “hanging on the walls of Holland House.” The history is one of indifference. The portrait is found there because neither the widow nor the daughter think it worth removal; because the Earl or Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Morrice, and the various holders of short leases were equally indifferent: and out of these indifferences grows up the romance, and all the romantic associations of the Addison portrait at Holland House.

Just so far as the substitution of Fountaine for Addison rests on the intimate connexion of Fountaine with “Swift, Pope, and Addison,” all the above objections apply with equal force. If Addison’s connexion with Holland House will not authenticate a portrait of Addison at Holland House, neither can it authenticate a portrait of his friend Fountaine. Further, there seems to be some doubt on the subject; else why the mention of the connexion between Sir Stephen Fox and Sir A. Fountaine? Sir Stephen Fox died in extreme old age, when Fountaine must have been a young man; but young or old, a portrait of Fountaine, in possession of Sir Stephen, had nothing whatever to do with

Fountaine's connexion with "Swift, Pope, and Addison," and nothing to do with Holland House, except by the accident that half a century afterwards the Fox family bought Holland House.

It is strong presumptive evidence that this portrait was never considered the portrait of Addison by Addison's contemporaries, or survivors, that it was never engraved. For twenty years after Addison's death, we have many portraits of him; but not one from the portrait at Holland House.

By the time the Fox family got possession of Holland House, Addison had become a classic. The place itself was sanctified by his name and memory; there were, and there are, Addison walks and Addison rooms; and an Addison portrait only was wanting to complete the charm. Of course if Henry Fox wanted a portrait of Addison, the dealers would find one; and with the full flowing wig, and the loose wrapper of his day, there was no great difficulty; any decent resemblance would pass. The existing portrait, therefore, may be one of Fountaine; may be, as you think probable, from appearance, a Congreve,—and if it be not Congreve, I cannot distinguish between the Kit-Cat Congreve and Fountaine.

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AN ESSAY

UPON THE

GHOST-BELIEF OF SHAKESPEARE.

By Alfred Poffe =

INTRODUCTION.

To disbelieve in the objective reality of spiritual appearances in general is the rule of the present age, and is conceived to be one of the marks and consequences of its intellectual progression; and therefore is it, we think, to be accounted for, that the above subject has never (at least, so far as is known) been treated of. Most of Shakespeare's admirers doubtless imagine that such an intellect as his could never have given credence to a ghost; nor are they very curious to ask, how it was, *on artistic grounds*, that the greatest poet should have produced what many think his greatest work, upon a supernatural theme—upon a theme whose basis is either nervous disease, credulity, or imposture; for into some one of these things are all ghosts now resolved.

If, however, the modern philosopher holds it to be part of *his* appreciation of Shakespeare that he could not have believed in a ghost, it is also certain that the ghost-believing student of the poet-philosopher will claim him as a teacher, on spiritual grounds, and will at least endeavour to show cause why he does so. Holding that ghost-belief, rightly understood, is most rational and salutary, he will deem that it must have had the sanction of such a thinker as Shakespeare.

If there is any one principle which ought to be particularly adhered to above all others in any speculations regarding Shakespeare's opinions, it should surely be, never to adduce a mere *opinion*, expressed by one of his characters, as *his* opinion. Of those who do so, it will probably be found that, to use Horatio's expression, they do but "*botch the words up fit to their own thoughts.*" In the essay now made to shew that Shakespeare, apart from his feelings as a poet, believed, as a philosopher, in

supernatural realities, no support to the idea will be sought from such means. Of course, such attempts must be held as equally illegitimate on the opposite side; and it does, indeed, seem wonderful that any real admirers of Shakespeare could ever make such attempts, since they may know that it is very easy so to attribute anything, even the most contrary things, to the author; as witness, for example, the dialogue between Posthumus and the Jailer, in *Cymbeline*.

Nothing, indeed, is easier, than for an author merely to make his characters express *opposite opinions*, without, however, having any fixed opinions or clear knowledge of his own upon the matter in hand; but *it is quite another thing* so to state the opinion as to involve his own knowledge. In attempting this, every one conversant with any given subject knows how instantaneously ignorance is detected where it exists.

We are told that law terms, sea terms, &c., &c., are used by Shakespeare in a manner that implies real knowledge of more than the mere existence of the words. So the ghost-believer looks at Shakespeare, *not* to see what *opinions* are expressed about ghosts, but to ascertain whether what is *said* by the characters, or *done* in the story, implies that the author possessed a philosophy of the subject.

Here perhaps our sceptical friends will smile at the mere idea of a ghost-believer's philosophy. Nevertheless, they must be assured that, if we are mad, we do, at all events, claim to have "a method in our madness." For instance, a ghost-believer would say that the story of *Hamlet* *might* be a hard fact, as much as the story of *Tom Jones* might be one. He believes, and can therefore think that Shakespeare might have believed: 1st, That ghosts do appear objectively; 2nd, That several persons at once may see a ghost; 3rd, That one person may, and another may not, as with Hamlet and the Queen; 4th, That the ends for which ghosts appear may be good, bad, or indifferent—may succeed or may fail, and that there is both fact and philosophy for all this. So much received, we may believe in *Hamlet*.

If we are told that the men who can believe all this can believe anything, we say, No! For example, we could not believe in such a story as that of *Frankenstein* and the monster whom he is represented as, in some sense, creating. We should say that such a story, *as a hard fact*, was altogether contrary to the laws both of the spiritual and of the natural worlds, and we are quite certain that, *so understood*, the writer did not believe in the like of it. Such stories, therefore, we conceive to be essentially *faulty art*, whatever talents may be shown in their execution. In saying thus much, it may be well, in a passing way, to note, as a circumstance not forgotten, that there are writings in which

(unlike *Hamlet*) the images are *professedly allegorical or fanciful*, although this essay does not pretend to touch upon them. Such writings, however, would have *their* true and false, as well as those which are *professedly literal*.

THE MEANING OF GHOST-BELIEF.

We will now, then, proceed to state what is meant by ghost-belief, and what are its supposed grounds. In the first place, then, the Spiritualist conceives it to be a great truth, that every human being is truly and properly a *ghost*, or *spirit*, clad for a time in an earthly body. Whether Shakespeare thought this or not, he has very beautifully expressed the idea, in his *Twelfth Night*, when he makes Sebastian say—

A spirit I am indeed;
But am in that dimension grossly clad,
Which from the womb I did participate.—*Act V., Scene 1.*

Although it has been assumed previously that no *opinion*, expressed by one of the *poet's characters*, is to be quoted as being necessarily *the poet's opinion also*, yet any piece of wisdom or of thought, as distinguished from an opinion, may be called his wisdom, or his thought. Now, if it should be deemed that *no wisdom* is contained in a given passage, say the one just quoted, still the fact remains, that the thought of the Spiritualist has been so felicitously expressed—and that too in a place where Shakespeare might just as easily have made Sebastian answer more like a modern philosopher, by saying that he was “*not a spirit, but a man of flesh and blood.*” The character of Sebastian is one which may well justify us in concluding that, of the two possible answers to his sister's exclamation—

If spirits can assume both form and suit,
You come to fright us—

Shakespeare would assign to him the one which he himself considered as *the most sensible*. The same thought which has been thus assigned to Sebastian is to be found likewise in Lorenzo's speech in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act V., Scene 1), where he discourses of the harmony of the spheres, and tells Jessica that—

Such harmony is in immortal souls;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.

In the next place—and this is a point of the highest importance—the Spiritualist believes that the ghost, or spirit, which is truly the man, *is in a human form*, as much as the body is; the body being in that form, simply because the ghost or soul is so. Men instinctively personify the virtues and the vices by human forms. Ask the painter to delineate Revenge and Mercy, and he will, as a matter of course, present you with a male and a

female figure, in which Revenge and Mercy will be depicted, *not merely* in the expression of the heads, but *in the whole formation* of the body, and *in the action of every part*. If the artist be competent to paint what he *feels*, and every one else *feels*, all will *know* his meaning. That every ruling passion affects and shapes the whole body, is conceived by the Spiritualist to be an irresistible argument for the human form of the ghost or soul, and the fact has been expressed by Shakespeare in his usual masterly style; it should also be well noted, that he has assigned the expression of the fact to the wise and observing Ulysses. Speaking of Cressida, Ulysses says—

Fie, fie upon her!
 There's a language in her eye, her cheek, her lip;
 Nay, *her foot speaks*: her *wanton spirits* look out
 At every joint and motive of her body.

Again, how common is it for us to say of some one who at first sight we thought ordinary, or even ugly, but afterwards find to be morally amiable, that we have lost sight of the bodily defect, and have become conscious of a pleasing, and, in some instances, of even a beautiful expression—a thing inconceivable upon any ground but that of the human form of the ghost or soul; a form beautiful if the moral state be good, ugly if the moral state be bad—which latter fact is again wonderfully exemplified in the *diabolical expressions* we sometimes perceive *in faces naturally handsome*. In both instances, the beautiful and the ugly ghost or soul shines through the external, earthly countenance, and actually, when the good or evil feeling is at work, *alters the very form* of that external countenance, thus furnishing the complete demonstration that good and evil feelings are *absolutely in forms*, and such forms, of course, as they mould the external into; that is, into forms beautiful and angelic, or monstrous and diabolical.

These all-important facts Shakespeare has fully included in Desdemona's words—

I saw Othello's visage in his mind.

The common expression that *we see the mind in the countenance*, of course conveys a truth, or rather a part of the truth, but Desdemona's words are fuller; for they give the fact that *the mind has a visage of its own*. This is to be taken as being an absolute truth, which is also the reason why it is eminently poetical. To say that anything can be really *poetical* and yet *not true* is a mere contradiction. Moreover, Shakespeare did not so express Desdemona's feelings by a merely accidental stroke; we must always think that what in the most of persons is simply *felt*, was, by Shakespeare, also most clearly *seen*.

The doubt or denial of the great truth that the human soul has the human form, which is

A combination and a form indeed,

places the doubters in the most distressing dilemmas. They call their doubts and denials philosophy ; but what kind of philosophy can that be which deals only in negations ?

The arguments for the immortality of the soul (to say nothing of the views in general of a future state) are infinitely clouded and weakened, if its human form is not taken note of as being pre-eminently the foundation-truth upon which all arguments relating to the soul should rest. That foundation-truth being itself capable (as it certainly is) of the fullest demonstration, it follows that all truths which spring legitimately from that foundation-truth must have all the firmness of their original stock.

So much having been premised, let us now suppose any one deeply interested in the subject of the soul's immortality, and anxious to have the clearest views possible upon that sublime theme, sitting himself down to the perusal of Bishop Butler's celebrated *Analogy*, in the hope of attaining to the mental satisfaction for which he seeks, and what would be the result ? We venture to think that it must needs be disappointment ; an opinion for which some reasons shall now be suggested.

In this well-known work, then, of Bishop Butler, there is a chapter entitled "Of a Future Life," which, of course, contains whatever the eminent divine who wrote it considered as most worthy for him to utter upon the subject ; yet, in conclusion, he feels himself called upon to volunteer an admission that all he has been able to say is but little calculated to satisfy curiosity ; meaning, evidently, a curiosity directed towards the general outline of a future life—a wish, in short, to have some faint idea of what it is like.

It is, indeed, true that Bishop Butler follows up his admission by observing that, nevertheless, all the purposes of religion are as well answered as by a demonstrative proof. Doubtless he believed so ; but it cannot be denied but that such dogmatic assertions are looked at with great dissatisfaction by the sceptically inclined ; and the Spiritualist believes that, if the truest and deepest grounds were taken, there would be no necessity for any such admission as Bishop Butler has felt himself called upon to make. The fact that curiosity is a feeling of the human mind, and one that, properly directed, performs the high use of leading us on to knowledge, renders it at least very possible that views of truth which are but little able to satisfy curiosity may be very incomplete views, and such as we *therefore ought not* to rest

satisfied with, even as believers. Shakespeare wrote very wisely when he made Pericles say—

Truth can never be confirmed enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep.

It is, by the way, very common to hear that curiosity which seeks to know something more of the future life than the bare fact of such a life, stigmatized as being a vain curiosity, and many religious persons would even condemn it as involving a desire to be what they term,

Wise above what is written.

If it were a curiosity which could not be gratified, it might then justly be called *vain*; but is there, or can there be, a natural curiosity which cannot be gratified? The Spiritualist doubts it; nor can he admit curiosity in itself to be anything but excellent, and most especially so when directed to lofty subjects: consequently, he believes that every curiosity which mankind can feel, or rather *cannot but feel*, may attain to a legitimate satisfaction.

Supposing, now, that in the exercise of this most rational curiosity concerning the soul and our future life, we should have arrived at the conviction that the soul is in the human form, and it seems immediately to follow that such a soul, in the future life as well as in this, requires its objectivities, or things out of itself; and not only do we feel that we require them, but we find ourselves upon the track of understanding *how* we may have them.

We find then, in the next place, that not only can we affirm a human form for the soul, but we can also affirm a heat and a light as belonging to the soul; a heat and a light, too, so much more potent than the heat and light of nature, that it is only by virtue of the former that we can know or perceive the latter. It is well known to us all, that heat and light are constantly affirmed of spiritual things; as when, for example, we say that our intellects are *enlightened*, or that a *light* has been thrown upon a subject—meaning, that reasons have been given and seen, and so forth. Also, we can affirm that *the passions and feelings*, as distinguished from *the intellect*, are felt as a heat or fire, often extending most perceptibly into the natural body, which those passions and feelings will cause to be, as it were, on fire, even upon the coldest days—for we all know that a man may *burn* with love or with rage upon such days; thus proving that there is another heat or fire besides that of the natural sun, and which heat or fire works from within to without, or from the spiritual to the natural sphere.

Having thus opened our understandings to the fact that the soul is in a human form, and that it enjoys a spiritual light and heat, we are then led on, by the most rigid logic, to the admission

of a spiritual sun, from whence this spiritual light and heat originate. This second grand truth arrived at, *our rational curiosity* has received its answer—for if there is a spiritual sun, then there are spiritual atmospheres; and all these truths put together point out to us a spiritual world of forms which shall be *objective* to the soul, or real man.

If, now, these positions can be admitted, all is then told to us that can be asked, since what we all desire, and, indeed, *all that we do desire*, is to be assured of the possibility of our having, in the future life, an external form or body, and a world external to that, both of which shall harmonize with our *inmost life*.

That this much-longed-for harmony is, in the present world, absolutely impossible, is but too well known, even in the case of any one endowed with the best regulated mind, and with every other advantage that this world can afford. Not only does the natural body decay, and become from day to day a less manageable engine, but *an opposition*, rather than *a harmony*, is felt to arise from almost everything in its turn. To have our bodies and every external circumstance in harmony with the internal, is to every one the exception, although it is what we are constantly striving for; and, therefore, any view which makes it apprehensible that such a consummation (which would constitute a real heaven) is possible, surely is worthy of attention; especially when *all* for it is positive and absolute, resting, as it does, upon those surprising manifestations of the soul—the fine arts, and the forms of expression instinctively used by men.

It is certainly singular that, notwithstanding the acknowledged power of the fine arts, they do not seem ever to have been considered in their bearing upon these most recondite questions; and it is, as we apprehend, quite the tendency of the religious classes to smile at any one who claims for the inner world an objectivity similar to that of the natural world. The idea seems to be, that the one world must be something every way so different from the other, that, in short, we can form no idea at all about the matter. This, however, is a mere negation on the part of the intellect, or, in plain English, a refusing to trouble itself at all with the question: whereas, if the feelings were spoken from, as they should be, it would become perfectly clear that *nothing more nor less* than the harmony of the internal and the external was *the want* of the soul. Now, if the hope and desire for a future life be, as amongst religious men it is confidently deemed they are, powerful arguments that there is such a life, this other desire for *the harmonious inner and outer life* as powerfully shows what that future life must be like.

Thus, then, to use Shakespeare's words—

The wheel has come full circle;

and thus are we fairly brought round again to our starting-point, and are enabled, as it is hoped, to see more clearly how much lies in this question of the ghost-belief of Shakespeare. We can see that a belief usually stigmatized as merely superstitious, even by the Christian world, may, nevertheless, prove to have been the belief of the highest poet; but then, to have been the belief of that highest poet, it must also be a belief which the highest reason, properly exerted, can sanction. If the tree is to be known by its fruits, have we not a right to say that a rational ghost-belief bears fruits of the most wholesome kind. It helps to bind religion and the fine arts together, and to solve problems of universal interest yet supposed insoluble even by the most eminent men, when, as in the case of Bishop Butler, they omit to go down into the very roots of men's feelings (that is, of the soul's feelings) as they are manifested in the forms of language and in the fine arts.

SHAKESPEARE'S IGNORANCE.—DR. ALDERSON.

Dr. Alderson was the author of an essay upon "Apparitions," in which, as usual, he refers apparitions to a diseased state of the brain, and, after stating his cases, expresses himself thus—

From what I have related, it will be seen why it should happen that only one at a time could ever see a ghost, and here *we may lament that our celebrated poet*, whose knowledge of nature is every Englishman's boast, *had not known such cases, and their causes*, as I have related; he would not then, perhaps, have made his ghosts visible and audible on the stage. Every expression, every look, in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, is perfectly natural and consistent with men so agitated, and quite sufficient to convince us of what they suffer, see, and hear; but it must be evident that, the disease being confined to the individual, such object must be seen and heard only by the individual.

Thus far Dr. Alderson. Nevertheless, that Shakespeare, both in his *Macbeth* and in his *Hamlet*, has shewn himself fully conversant with the disease-theory, the following passages will completely evince:—

Macbeth. Is this a dagger which I see before me,
The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee:
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.
Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
To feeling, as to sight? Or art thou but
—A dagger of the mind, a false creation,
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?

Again, Lady Macbeth exclaims—

O proper stuff!
This is the very painting of your fear.

Also, the Queen, in *Hamlet*—

This is the very coinage of your brain;
*This bodiless creation, ecstasy
Is very cunning in*

Seeing, then, that Shakespeare did know of such a theory as Dr. Alderson's, a few remarks will be offered upon it. According to that theory, we are to think that disease is *the efficient cause* of apparitions. Now, let it be observed that *an eye*, in the course of nature, is the organ of seeing. Forms and colours seem to require *an eye*, upon which they shall be impressed, in order that they may be seen; but here we have a set of cases in which certain forms and colours become visible which yet are evidently not impressed upon the retina of *the bodily eye*, and then the conclusion is at once jumped at that these forms and colours are mere images in the brain, having no objective reality whatsoever. Nay, more, this brain must be *a diseased brain*. It does not avail for you to point out that in many cases *the visions are beautiful* to the eye; and also that *beautiful music* is perceived, which seems to require an ear: all must be referred to *disease* as the *efficient cause*. Such are the things which *the incredulous* can bring themselves to believe. Beautiful forms and beautiful sounds, although in themselves *essentially order*, are thus held to spring from *disorder*.

All this, however, is merely *assertion*, and *no real reason* has yet been given why the apparitions and the sounds should not be impressions upon the spiritual eye and ear, and from objects in the spiritual world, which is the proper habitation of the ghost or spirit, as the material world is of the body "the gross dimension," the "muddy vesture of decay."

Dr. Alderson begs the question altogether, when he asserts that apparitions are never seen but by one person at a time, and that one in an abnormal state. But grant that it even were so, that would not at all necessarily touch the question of the objective reality. Why should not the disease be the *occasional* cause only, and not the *efficient* one? In certain nervous states, the senses which deal with the external world are sometimes so highly raised that, for instance, a conversation taking place in a remote part of the house shall be heard perfectly, which could not have been heard at all had the person hearing been in a normal state. So a disease, disturbing for awhile the harmony between the spirit and the natural body, causes the former to have *its* perceptions more or less opened to the objects of its own proper world.

Again, when real objectivity is spoken of, it must never be forgotten, that *even in the material world there are very different kinds of realities*; and this is a point which the Spiritualist has never seen met, or, apparently, even dreamt of, by the sceptics. A phantasmagoria *is real*, yet *not really* what it seems to be; and a portrait is *a real representation* of a man, although it is *not a real man*. Now, allow that the spiritual world, being also a

world of causes, must, as such, have *its real representations of its realities*, and all the difficulties attendant upon waking or other dreams will fast begin to vanish. Drive away from the mind the groundless conception that all are merely affections of the brain, and the striking phenomena of every kind of dreamings are seen to have necessarily *a reality in their own sphere*, even if the reality be only of that sort which a phantasmagoria or a picture have in theirs. In both cases, the reality, although only of the representative kind, *implies other realities* also: that is, realities *on which, or in which, the representation can take place*, and also *real powers* adequate to form the representation.

In conclusion, we may rest fully assured of one thing—namely, that *whatever Shakespeare has done* respecting supernatural appearances, *has not been from ignorance* such as Dr. Alderson has attributed to him.

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS SPIRIT OF INQUIRY.

It has then been seen that it certainly arose not from *ignorance* upon Shakespeare's part, when he chose, in his great work, to introduce a ghost who is visible not only to one person but to three persons at once. Let us rather conclude that it was from *knowledge* that he did so: for, in the first place, how is it possible to believe that so great an artist did not use every means for *thinking justly* upon supernatural themes, *while writing* upon them; and, secondly, we should remember that there is a possibility of his even having had experimental evidence in his own person. Many more persons have such evidence than is commonly supposed, and it is surely easier to think that Shakespeare's inner life was as remarkable as his works than to think otherwise. However, be that as it may, he most thoroughly knew what the true spirit of inquiry should be, and he has knit up into a single line a direction for that spirit. Hamlet's words—

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy—

are continually quoted; but let our most especial attention be directed to what immediately precedes those lines. When Horatio exclaims,

O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!

Hamlet has had assigned to him this fine rejoinder—

And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.

Here is a piece of advice utterly at variance with the feelings and practice of all those persons whose tendency it is to write and to talk, not merely against the supernatural, but against anything else whatsoever which to them appears *strange*, whether it be the circulation of the blood, the lighting by gas, or the

travelling by a railway. All these things and many more have been stigmatized, and all for the want of such wisdom as this single line contains; for this is one of the cases wherein we have a right to make the distinction already alluded to, between the mere expression of an opinion *belonging only to the character*, and the utterance of a piece of real practical thought or wisdom *belonging also to the writer*.

If it is asked how we would show that the true spirit of inquiry is actually embodied in this single line, we would state our position thus. *Welcoming* the strange fact gives it its just chance of being admitted as a truth, if it really be such. *Welcoming it as a stranger* will secure us from being ultimately imposed upon; and the phrase is most felicitously expressive of a kind of attention or courtesy due towards the matter inquired into, while it warns us against that absolute trust which we give to a tried old friend. Upon such grounds it is that we conceive "the be-all and the end-all" of right-thinking inquiry to be contained in these words of Hamlet. The Spiritualists feel well-assured that Shakespeare, both as a philosopher and as an artist, acted upon the axiom he has assigned to the philosophic Prince, and they also lament that to do *the very contrary* should be the almost universal practice.

SHAKESPEARE AND "OUR PHILOSOPHICAL PERSONS."

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Shakespeare has made the old lord, Lafeu, exactly characterize that unphilosophical scepticism which sets itself above the wise axiom allotted to Hamlet, of giving welcome, as to a stranger, to the strange; at the same time, the speaker administers to such a scepticism the most grave and the most just rebuke.

Lafeu. They say miracles are past, and we have our philosophical persons to make *modern and familiar*, things *supernatural and causeless*. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, *ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge*, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear.

How wisely does this passage censure that spirit which, assuming to be philosophical, attempts to explain away the operations of the internal world into "states of the brain," "deceptions of the senses," or "impostures." This is, indeed, "*ensconcing themselves into seeming knowledge*," on the part of the "*philosophical persons*," who really ought to know that, as far as imposture is concerned, every true thing is simulated, and that, indeed, this very simulation is in itself a testimony to some underlying truth.

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Shakespeare, inspired, as it might seem, with all wisdom, here uses the word "causeless" in its strict philosophical sense, cause being truly predicable only of *phenomena*, that is, things natural, and not of *noumena*, or things supernatural.

This is surely an excellent observation of Coleridge, and points out also to us that the expression, "we should submit to an unknown fear," contained in the next sentence, is not to be understood in the low sense of any intellectual prostration, but as corresponding to the transcendental "causeless."

It is certainly impossible to overrate the importance of admitting the transcendental, or that which towers above mere logic. For want of such an admission, we may find people arguing against the existence of a God and against the immortality of the soul, because those facts cannot be *proved*, as they phrase it, *logically*. Yet these very persons, if they happened to be lovers of the arts of poetry, painting and music, would at once feel the monstrous absurdity of attempting a merely logical critique upon those arts. They would instantly see that a man who wanted to have it *logically proved* to him that Shakespeare, Michael Angelo and Handel were great men, was simply *proving* his own insensibility to the arts in which they excelled. So it is with the two great questions above mentioned. Whosoever allows the transcendental, the *feelings*, to be opened within him, affirms absolutely a God and a future life, and can also then, by his reasoning faculties, satisfy the affirmation. Those who will not allow the transcendental to be opened within them, but will insist upon beginning with the merely logical, can never reach to the highest truth, whether it be in religion or in the fine arts. It is, therefore, most interesting to see that Shakespeare has thus set his mark upon this all-important point. He has written a speech, in which, in the most close and beautiful manner, "*things supernatural and causeless*" are affirmed, and the consequences of their denial pointed out.

As the character which speaks must always be considered in estimating Shakespeare's meaning, it may be observed that Lafau is painted as a humorous, and also as a wise and good man. He is on the freest terms with the worthy King, and even the wild young lord, Bertram, is made to say—

I do know him well; and common speech gives him a worthy pass.

There is certainly something very exquisite in his sly and good-humoured (as well as profound) hit at the "philosophical persons," and he still carries on a similar strain, while exulting in the King's wonderful cure, after being, as he observes, "relinquished of the artists, of all the learned and authentic fellows." It is evident how heartily Lafau would have rejoiced at some of the wonderful cures wrought in our own day by means of

mesmerism and homœopathy to the infinite discomfiture of our "learned and authentic fellows."

If Shakespeare himself had been a "philosophical person," he never could have written Lafen's speeches. In them he has shown that he saw *clean through* the sceptical spirit, *a thing impossible for a sceptic to do.*

SHAKESPEARE'S IDEA OF TRUE ART.

It will, we may presume be conceded, that whatsoever is essentially true of one of the fine arts must also be true of the others; and it is proposed to test this by quoting Hamlet's advice to the Players (wherein proof is given of the author's views as to the artist-like in acting), and substituting for the the word *playing*, the word *poetry*.

Let your discretion be your tutor; suit the action to the word, the word to the action, with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature; for anything so done is from the purpose of *poetry*, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is to hold, as 'twere the mirror up to nature; to shew virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time its form and pressure. Now, this overdone, or come tardy off, although it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve; the censure of which one, must, in your allowance, o'erweigh a whole theatre of others.

Now assuming that these were Shakespeare's own views upon *playing*, and it does not seem likely that in this place he would make Hamlet speak otherwise than rationally, can it be doubted that he would also have applied such views to *the poem to be played*; yet, if a ghost be only the product of a diseased brain, and the appearance of a ghost to three persons at once a sheer impossibility, "the modesty of nature," has been very much "o'erstept" in the poem of Hamlet, and if the end of all the art is,

To hold, as 'twere the mirror up to nature,

what can be more "overdone," according to the sceptical philosophy?

Nevertheless the poem of Hamlet does not seem to have made

The judicious grieve,

and even those who think an apparition only a state of the brain feel that a powerful effect has been produced, although upon every sound principle of artist-like reasoning, nothing but displeasure should have ensued in the minds of those who believe that in any given work, the mirror has *not* been held up to nature.

In the meanwhile, the ghost-believer thinks himself fully justified in pronouncing Hamlet to be, from every point of view, "an excellent play, well digested in the scenes, set down with as much modesty as cunning."

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS ADMIRERS.

The practice of insisting upon ghost-belief as being a mere superstition, does certainly seem to place many of Shakespeare's most able and zealous admirers in a false position, when they are treating of him as an artist. But let them be heard in their own words. And, 1st, Mr. Morgann, in his excellent essay upon the character of Sir John Falstaff, thus expresses himself in a note :—

Ghosts differ from other imaginary beings in this—that they belong to no element; have no specific nature or character; and are effects, however harsh the expression, supposed to be without a cause; the reason of which is, that they are not the creation of the poet but the servile copies or transcripts of popular imagination, connected with supposed reality and religion. Should the poet assign the cause, and call them the mere painting or *coinage of the brain*, he would disappoint his own end and destroy the beings he had raised. Should he assign fictitious causes, and add a specific nature and a local habitation, it would not be endured, or the effect would be lost by the conversion of one thing into another. The approach to reality in this case defeats all the arts and managements of fiction.

Let us compare this critique upon ghosts with Shakespeare's treatment of the ghost in *Hamlet*. He has there given him a most specific character—that of an injured man seeking for revenge. It sounds strangely, too, to hear a professor of Christianity speaking of what is understood to be the soul of a deceased man as of an effect without a cause; and then we are called upon to think that a great poet could make *servile copies* from popular imaginations, when the truth is that all great artists make it their delight to copy nature, even to the minutest details, as well knowing that in no other way can the most lasting effects be produced. That anything weak or false, or the copy of such things, should produce great artistic effects, is surely against all sound reasonings; and we therefore conclude that when the philosophical sceptic denies a ghost he does so merely from intellect, which is very likely to be in the wrong, and not from feeling, the ultimate test of all works of art.

Although the ghost in *Hamlet* has every mark of reality, yet the local habitation, by which apparently Mr. Morgann means a place in the external world, was not needed for him. His place was in the spiritual world, and *Hamlet* and his friends saw him with their spiritual eyes, at the same time that the platform was beheld by their natural eyes. That such was the case Shakespeare knew perfectly well, and this accounts for the fact of the Queen not being able to see the ghost, although *Hamlet* did. The ghost did not wish the Queen to see him, and therefore he did not present himself to her spiritual eyes. Shakespeare knew that man is an inhabitant of two worlds, and consequently that all these things involved the gravest truths. Were it not so and that they were merely the *servile copies of false imaginations*,

they would justly offend every cultivated mind; but we have daily experience that they do not do so.

Secondly, Coleridge speaks of the ghost in *Hamlet* as involving

A superstition connected with the most mysterious truths of religion,
 nd of

Shakespeare's consequent reverence in his treatment of it.

; again the ghost-believer cannot but have an uncomfortable
 ation of incomplete criticism. A superstition, that is, a weak-
 s and a falsity, seems to have but little claim for reverential
 atment from a great artist. Why could not Mr. Coleridge
 ve said, instead of "*a superstition*,"

A truth connected with the most mysterious truths of revealed religion.

Thirdly, Lessing says—

Voltaire has regarded the appearance of a dead person as a miracle, and Shakespeare as a natural event. Which of the two thought most as a philosopher is a question that we have nothing to do with. But the Englishman thought most as a poet.

Here we have the pleasing admission that Shakespeare has treated the appearance of the ghost as a part of the normal system of things; for so much is fairly implied in the phrase, "a natural event." But why does Lessing say that whether this was philosophical or not is a question with which we have nothing to do? and why is a distinction made between philosophy and poetry which seems to imply that what was bad in the one might be good in the other? Is such a distinction good philosophy? and have we not everything to do with the question in estimating Shakespeare as an artist? When the soothsayer, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, is asked—

Is't you, sir, that know things?

he significantly replies—

In nature's infinite book of secrecy,
 A little I can read.

Can it be doubted but that Shakespeare would have also said for himself what he has written for the soothsayer? Surely it cannot be doubted; and in that "infinite book of secrecy" Shakespeare would have found all that he has written.

Fourthly, Mr. Charles Knight, speaking of the appearance of the ghost to Hamlet, observes that

The images are of this world, and are not of this world. They belong at once to *popular superstition* and the *highest poetry*.

Mr. Knight, soon after this, makes some remarks connected with which a few observations may be offered. He says—

How exquisite are the last lines of the Ghost; full of the poetry of external nature and of the depth of human affection, as if the spirit that had for so short

a time been cut off from life to know the secrets of "the prison house" still cling to the earthly remembrance of the beautiful and the tender, that even a spirit might indulge.

"The glow-worm shows the matin to be near,
And 'gins to pale his ineffectual fire:
Adieu, adieu, Hamlet! remember me."

The point which the present writer wishes here to touch upon is as follows. The sceptic may say to the ghost-believer thus: "How upon your own shewing could a spirit who has left the earthly body, the 'mortal coil,' be cognizant as Shakespeare has made this ghost, of the objects of the earthly world? You, the ghost-believers plainly inculcate as your philosophy that each world to be objectively known, requires the spiritual or the natural organs as the case may be.

To this objection, which is indeed a most obvious one, it is replied, that the solution is easy and that the proof of facts kindred to those in Hamlet, lies within the reach of every one who is really disposed to make the proper inquiries for them.

A philosopher, who was also a seer, has observed, and to the best of our judgment, has shown, that although a spirit assuredly cannot of himself see the objects of the natural world, yet he can do so, when in communication, or, as the mesmerist would say, in *rappor*t with a man or men. The spirit, then, through their natural organs, perceives what they perceive, and that such kind of communication between two persons is a mere fact, is known to all who have paid any due attention to mesmerism and its results.

In certain mesmeric cases, a person thrown into the peculiar sleep, shall taste the eatable or the drinkable which is being partaken of by one with whom the sleeper is in *rappor*t, he shall hear the voice of that one, but not the voice of others, and so on.

In the fine effect then, which Shakespeare has here produced and which has called forth such praises from Mr. Knight, the poet still does not

O'erstep the modesty of nature.

Shakespeare knew better than ever to aim at any effect, by untrue, and therefore unartist-like means.

MACBETH.—DR. JOHNSON.

The following remarks by Dr. Johnson upon Macbeth, will serve as we imagine, to display some of the weaknesses of the usual Shakespearian criticism. They are quoted also as affording us a starting-point for the further unfolding of a different criticism, while the reader will have the advantage of seeing both sides of the question placed before him in the very words of each pleader. Thus then has written the worthy doctor:

In order to make a true estimate of the abilities and merit of a writer, it is always necessary to examine the genius of his age and the opinions of his contemporaries. A poet who should now make the whole action of his tragedy depend upon enchantment, and produce the chief events by the assistance of supernatural agents, would be censured as transgressing the bounds of probability, be banished from the theatre to the nursery, and condemned to write fairy tales instead of tragedies; but a survey of the notions that prevailed at the time this play was written, will prove that Shakespeare was in no danger of such censors, since he only turned the system that was then universally admitted to his advantage, and was far from overburdening the credulity of his audience. . . . Upon this general infatuation Shakespeare might be easily allowed to found a play, especially since he has followed with great exactness such histories as were then thought true, nor can it be doubted that the scenes of enchantment, however they may now be ridiculed, were both by himself and his audience, thought awful and affecting.—See Dr. Johnson's "Introductory Remarks upon *Macbeth*."

Now there is certainly something very strange in such remarks as the preceding, to those who cannot admit that a great work of art can possibly stand upon an untrue and merely childish foundation: to them there is a somewhat altogether displeasing in the idea that Shakespeare should need to have excuses made for writing *Macbeth*, and they wish to learn whence it is that the work still stands its ground if such criticisms be well founded. There is, or there is not, a supernatural world, and no one would have affirmed such a world more strongly than Dr. Johnson; then arises the question whether it can, *in any age*, be wrong for the artist to make use of that supernatural world to the best of his skill. If it is skilfully made use of, we find that such works still give delight, in spite of the sceptical philosophy, which, as it has no hold upon the heart, can never very powerfully affect us where the fine arts are in question; or if that philosophy does affect us, it is by diminishing the pleasure which those arts are calculated to give. Shakespeare, however, was both a heart and a head-philosopher, and perfectly well knew that all *real beliefs* had a *root*, and belonged to human nature. Consequently, when constructing a poem upon such themes as witchcraft or enchantment, Shakespeare would examine *the root* of those ideas, and he would know that by so doing, and only by so doing, could he produce a work which time could not injure. The Witches in *Macbeth* are not incredible, except in those who deny, or, when they are criticising, forget a spiritual world. Shakespeare has treated the Witches as spirits as may be evident from the fact that they suddenly vanish, their appearance being only to the spiritual eyes of those who saw them. The same point is involved as that which has already been touched upon in speaking of the ghost scenes in *Hamlet*.

Dr. Johnson alludes to the ridicule which he conceives to be attached by a modern to the scenes of enchantment; but ridicule is, in itself, no test of truth. We must first know who and what

the ridiculer is; for there is nothing, however good, which is not ridiculed by somebody. The incantations of those evil spirits, the Witches, and the ingredients of their cauldron, are not necessarily ridiculous to those who believe in an inner spiritual world, and who also believe that every form in nature is deeply significant of, and likewise comes from, that spiritual world. Had those evil spirits, when at their wicked work, using ingredients expressive of what is good and heavenly—such as precious stones, beautiful flowers, and the like—that would have been really ridiculous, and every one, whether a sceptic or not, would have been displeased with the inconsistency. As it is, there exists, in fact, a “dreadful harmony” in all that takes place, which harmony, however, must be more especially sought for in Shakespeare’s poem; for he is not to be held as responsible for any stage misconceptions in the matter, those very stage misconceptions themselves clearly having their origin in scepticism. It might make a very great difference indeed as to the whole stage treatment of the Witches, if the question were duly raised whether they should be considered merely as strange-looking old women only to be personated by the comic actors, or as evil spirits, inhabitants of the inner, hellish world, who, with a terrible earnest, are laying out their wicked snares, their “riddles and affairs of death.”

THE GHOST OF BANQUO.

IN an essay upon the play of *Macbeth* may be found the following passage of criticism, in the sceptical school (as usual), relative to the Ghost of Banquo:—

If . . . we believe in the reality of the ghost as a shape or shadow existent *without* the mind of Macbeth, and not exclusively within it, we shall have difficulties which may be put under two heads—Why did the ghost come? Why did he go, on Macbeth’s approach, and at his bidding? . . . It is clear from the scene, that Macbeth drove it away, and also that he considered it as much an illusion as his wife would fain have had him, when she whispered about the air-drawn dagger.

The above piece of criticism is cited on account of its mode of testing the question of objective reality. With sceptics, by the way, very curiously, a ghost, to begin with, is always expected to be thoroughly reasonable in every one of his comings and goings, although men are not uniformly so. What, however, for the present we would earnestly request of the sceptic is, to do with these apparently abnormal things as he would with any branch of natural science; that is, inquire as to facts. He would then find that the instances are indeed numerous in which persons, just deceased, appear to those whom they have known, and then *quickly disappear*.

These passing manifestations also occasionally take place when the person appearing is not either dead or dying: neither does it follow necessarily that the person seeing, or, as the sceptic would say, fancying that he sees, must always be thinking of the one seen. An examination into the general facts leads to the conclusion that thought of the person appeared to, on the part of the one appearing, is the cause, according to certain laws of the internal world, of the manifestations, which should therefore, it is conceived, be understood as having an objective reality. This theory, and its facts, must be considered in judging of Shakespeare's intentions. Of him we should always think as of the artist and the student of nature, until it can be shewn that he ever forgets himself in those characters.

While treating upon this subject, let it be observed, that it is the scepticism as to the objective reality of Banquo's Ghost which has originated the question as to whether he should be made visible to the spectators in the theatre, since, as the sceptics observe, he is invisible to all the assembled guests, and does not speak at all. But for this scepticism, it could never have been doubted that the ghost should be made visible to the theatre, although he is invisible to Macbeth's company, and although no words are assigned to him. This doubt existing, illustrates to us how stage-management itself is affected by the philosophy which may prevail upon certain subjects. Upon the Spiritualist view, Banquo's Ghost, and the witches themselves, are all in the same category, all belonging to the spiritual world, and seen by the spiritual eye; and the mere fact that the ghost does not speak, is felt to have no bearing at all upon the question of his presentation as an objective reality.

THE AIR-DRAWN DAGGER.

"Is this a dagger which I see before me,
The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee:
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.
Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
To feeling, as to sight? or art thou but
A dagger of the mind, a false creation
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?
I see thee yet, in form as palpable
As this which now I draw.
Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going,
And such an instrument I was to use.
Mine eyes are made the fools o' the other senses,
Or else worth all the rest: I see thee still,
And on thy blade and dudgeon gouts of blood,
Which was not so before. There's no such thing.
It is the bloody business which informs
Thus to mine eyes."

Macbeth, Act II., Scene 1.

The Spiritualist, when contending for the absolute objectivity of Banquo's Ghost, may possibly be asked whether he also

claims a *like* reality for "the air-drawn dagger." To this he would reply, that, to the best of his belief, a *like* reality was *not* to be affirmed of that dagger, which he conceives to have been a *representation*, in the spiritual world, of a dagger, not however being on that account less real (if by unreality we are to understand that it was, in some incomprehensible way, generated in the material brain), but only differing from what we should term a real, *bonâ fide* dagger, as a painting of a dagger differs from a real one.

That the spiritual world must have its *representations* as well as its *realities*, is a point which has already been touched upon, and this dagger, called by Lady Macbeth "the air-drawn dagger," we suppose to be one of those representations. Its objective reality, however, still remains untouched; for, once grant that the spiritual world is a real world—nay, the most real world—and it follows, that whatsoever is represented in it has its basis in reality, as much as an imitative dagger in a painting has *its* basis in the colours and canvas, which are also realities.

The belief that every man is attended by spirits, both good and evil, is not unconnected with this view concerning *represented objects* in the spiritual world. That our thoughts appear to be injections is within every one's experience, and the guardian angel or the tempting demon are constantly admitted in poetical language, or the language of the *feelings*, because they are *felt* to be truths. If, then, thoughts, both good and evil, are what they appear to be, injections—which injected thoughts we are free to receive or to reject—they must be from a source capable of thought, namely, from the inhabitants of the spiritual world. From that same source would also come those vivid representations, such as that of "the air-drawn dagger," which are felt to be in harmony with our present train of thoughts. That the dagger should have *this kind of reality* is quite consistent with Macbeth's reflections upon it. As being a representation to *the internal sight only* (for it is presumed that all would agree that it was not depicted upon the retina of the external eye), he cannot, of course, clutch it with his bodily hands, nor, indeed, even with his spiritual hands. Finding, therefore, that it is not "sensible to feeling as to sight," he calls it a "dagger of the mind, a false creation, proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain;" and to him it could *appear* nothing else. However well persuaded a man may become that the sun is stationary, or that his thoughts are not properly his own in their origin, yet he is ruled by strong appearances to the contrary *as to his expressions*. And in Macbeth's case, the brain was really "heat-oppressed," from the fire of wicked wishes which he had encouraged, and made his own by adoption.

The fact of *the change* which Macbeth perceives, as to the dagger, is, as we conceive, quite in harmony with the doctrine here advocated, of spiritual representations. First of all, he sees simply a dagger, marshalling him upon his way, but afterwards he sees upon its blade and handle spots of blood, "which was not so before." Hypnotism, as we are informed, continually displays facts similar to this of "the air-drawn dagger," in which the mind having been artificially fixed upon some point, becomes so much open to the power of another mind, as to see representations of the injected or suggested thoughts. You can cause the patient to see, as it were, a lamb, and you can change this lamb at your will into a wolf. The Spiritualist does not desire any one to think that these are real lambs and wolves: he is content to have it admitted that they are real representations of them, reflected upon *the internal or spiritual eye*, and he is not aware of anything which should oblige us to believe that *any sight* is possible without *some sight-organization*, such as is the eye, and such as is not the brain, apart from the eye.

From all these considerations it will be perceived, that when some one, a sincere religious enthusiast for instance, relates his visions, the Spiritualist is not obliged, any more than is the most decided Materialist, to admit that kind of absolute truth which the visionary may claim for those visions. For aught that the Spiritualist philosophy teaches, the most sincere visionary *may* be as completely under an illusion as the spectator of any conjuration or dealing with optical deceptions in this world can be. The only difference being, possibly, that it was a spiritual conjuror who had been operating before the visionary.

Mr. Fletcher, in his *Studies of Shakspeare*, has stated a point concerning this "air-drawn dagger" which tends to shew, as usual, how confused all criticism must be, while the critics persevere in thus obstinately ignoring the spiritual world. Mr. Fletcher in the work now alluded to, strenuously opposes the Ghost of Banquo being made visible to the theatre, because, in his opinion, the poet merely understood the ghost as an effect of Macbeth's mental workings; and in order further to illustrate what he conceives to be the absurdity of visibly displaying the mere effect of such workings, Mr. Fletcher observes, somewhat satirically, that:—

We are not aware that any manager has ever yet bethought himself of having an actual dagger suspended from the ceiling before the eyes of Macbeth's representative, by way of making this scene more intelligible to the audience.

In our section concerning Banquo's ghost, it was not thought necessary to enter upon any special discussion as to the proprieties of stage-representations, although we fully believe that there is a most powerful stage-reason, namely, *intelligibility*, for

making the ghost of Banquo visible to the theatre; but that reason does *not* apply to the dagger—because what is spoken by Macbeth makes intelligible all that he experiences with respect to that dagger. Also, when we go on to perceive that the spiritual world has, and must have, not only its *realities* but its *representations* likewise—of which last the dagger is apparently one—we have an additional argument still, to shew that the reasoning which may belong to Banquo's ghost would not necessarily apply, in all its points, to this appearance of the dagger.

It should, however, be noted, that the Spiritualist does not venture to say that under *no* circumstances should the dagger be made visible to the theatre: he believes that, supposing *Macbeth* superintended and performed by persons who seriously pondered the questions of the spiritual world, and the play also witnessed by a theatre of such persons, the idea of making the dagger visible might be, at least, *entertained*; because all concerned would look at the whole affair from a grave point of view, and would not be on the search for the ridiculous—which search is, indeed, frequently, nothing else but an effect of ignorance or thoughtlessness. Truly, of many, many things, do Hamlet's words hold good, that—

The readiness is all.

SHAKESPEARE. MACBETH.—DR. MAYO.

In a volume by Dr. Mayo, entitled *Letters upon the Truths contained in Popular Superstitions*, occur certain remarks as to Macbeth, and also as to Shakespeare himself, which remarks it is here proposed to extract, with the view of still further illustrating some of our own positions. Here follows our first and most considerable extract:—

In the tragedy of *Macbeth*, sensorial illusions are made to play their part with curious physiological correctness. The mind of Macbeth is worn by the conflict between ambition and duty. At last his better resolves give way, and his excited fancy projects before him the fetch of his own dagger, which marshals him the way that he shall go. The spectator is thus artistically prepared for the further working of the same infirmity in the apparition of Banquo, which, unseen by his guests, is visible to the conscience-stricken murderer. With a scientific precision no less admirable the partner of his guilt, *a woman*, is made to have attacks of trance (*to which women are more liable than men*), caused by her disturbed mind: and in her trance the exact physiological character of one form of that disorder is portrayed—she enacts a dream, which is the essence of somnambulism.

One almost doubts whether Shakespeare was aware of the philosophic truth displayed in these master-strokes of his own art. The apparition conjured up in the witch-scenes of the same play, and the Ghost in *Hamlet*, are moulded on the pattern of vulgar superstition. He employs indifferently the baser metal and the truthful inspiration of his own genius; realizing Shelley's strange figure of

“A poet hidden
In the light of thought,”

as they say the sun is himself dark as a planet, and his atmosphere alone is the source of light, through the gaps in which the common earth is seen. I am tempted—but it would be idle, and I refrain—to quote an expression or two or a passage from Shakespeare, exemplifying his wonderful turn for approximating to truths of which he must have been ignorant—where lines of admired and unaccountable beauty have unexpectedly acquired lucidity and appositeness through modern science. While, to make a quaint comparison, his great contemporary, Bacon, employed the lamp of his imagination to illustrate the paths to the discovery of truth, Shakespeare would, with random intuition, seize on the undiscovered truths themselves, and use them to vivify the conceptions of his fancy.

Dr. Mayo, in the work from which the foregoing passage has been extracted, is quite prepared to admit as facts numerous phenomena which the more decided sceptic altogether refuses to hear of; such, for example, as the divining rod, second-sight, clear-seeing, the facts of mesmerism in general, and ghosts, which last Dr. Mayo divides into *real* and *unreal*—utterly denying however any *objective* reality to either class. This is a species of scepticism greatly in advance of the more common and unreasoning kind, which refuses to listen to any evidence, inasmuch as it clears the ground so far as certain facts are concerned, leaving only the question to be discussed with the Spiritualist, as to *the causes* of the facts.

As most immediately relating to the subject of the present essay, Dr. Mayo's ideas concerning ghostly appearances, and his division of them into *unreal* and *real*, shall now be touched upon.

In the first, or *unreal* class, then, Dr. Mayo places such as in his opinion are generated *solely within the mind of the beholder*, and he adduces the case of Swedenborg as a remarkable instance of that kind. Such cases Dr. Mayo does not consider to be insanities, but refers them to a state of mind arising from intense thought upon some subject, (in Swedenborg's case, religion,) and then the thought shaping itself so vividly that the man is himself quite convinced of an objective reality, the truth being that all is merely subjective. (Here, by the way, Dr. Mayo *assumes*, without the shadow of a *proof*, that mere vividness of thought will give the appearance of outness to the things thought of.) Other *unreal* ghosts are considered by Dr. Mayo to be of the kind which Baron Reichenbach has explained; *i.e.*, those supposed to have been seen hovering over graves, which the Baron, by means of the observations of Mademoiselle Reichel, in her sensitive state, has shewn to be simply most subtle physical emanations from the graves, and visible only to persons in certain states.

That second class of ghostly appearances which Dr. Mayo characterizes as *real*, comprehends those in which, from the nature of the cases, he conceives that the mind of *the person seen* has acted upon that of *the seer*, and so has caused an image

to be perceived; to which image, however, as before stated, Dr. Mayo still altogether denies an *objective* reality.

As an example of that kind of relation to which Dr. Mayo would be ready to give credence, as belonging to this second or *real* class, he mentions what has been recounted of—

A late General Wynyard and the late Sir John Sherbrooke, who, when young men, were serving in Canada. One day—it was daylight—Mr. Wynyard and Sir John Sherbrooke both saw pass through the room where they sat a figure, which Mr. Wynyard recognized as a brother, then far away. One of the two walked to the door, and looked out upon the landing-place, but the stranger was not there, and a servant who was on the stairs had seen nobody pass out. In time, news arrived that Mr. Wynyard's brother had died about the time of the visit of the apparition.

Dr. Mayo then proceeds thus:—

I have had opportunity of inquiring of two near relations of this General Wynyard upon what evidence the above story rests. They told me they had each heard it from his own mouth. More recently, a gentleman, whose accuracy of recollection exceeds that of most people, has told me that he has heard the late Sir John Sherbrooke, the other party in the ghost story, tell it much in the same way at a dinner-table.

Dr. Mayo brings forward, as helping to explain relations of this sort, the account of what Zschokke, in his autobiography, terms his “inward sight,” by virtue of which he had repeatedly found himself cognizant of the history (even to most minute external points) of persons whom he had never before seen or known of. Dr. Mayo thus explains his final inferences:—

I shall, says he, assume it to be proved that the mind, or soul, of one human being can be brought, in the natural course of things, and under physical laws hereafter to be determined, into immediate relation with the mind of another living person.

If this principle, Dr. Mayo proceeds, be admitted, it is adequate to explain all the puzzling phenomena of real ghosts and of true dreams. For example, the ghostly and intersomnial communication with which we have as yet dealt, have been announcements of the deaths of absent parties. Suppose our new principle brought into play; the soul of the dying person is to be supposed to have come into direct communication with the mind of his friend, with the effect of suggesting his present condition. If the seer be dreaming, the suggestion shapes a corresponding dream; if he be awake, it originates a sensorial illusion.

To the Spiritualist it will appear that Dr. Mayo's illustration of what he classes as *unreal* appearances, from the case of Swedenborg, is, indeed, when duly examined, anything but favourable to his own views. Swedenborg had just the same amount of evidence to all the five senses that he lived in *two* objective worlds, that men in general have that they live in one. If it be said that a man can for thirty years be thoroughly convinced in his own mind, as to *all* his senses, of an internal world, *and yet be deceived*, the question may well be asked—*What warrant has any man for the reality of the external world?* which reality he assumes upon just the same amount of evidence, that is, the evidence of the senses, and no more. If Dr. Mayo's view

were fairly wrought out, which happily it cannot be, it would lead on to universal scepticism: none of us could feel sure of any existence but our own; for it cannot be allowed to stand as an argument in reply (although often urged as one), that such cases as Swedenborg's are merely exceptional, but that *all men* agree as to a real external natural world. *How do you know that there are these other men of whom you speak?* Only by impressions upon your external senses; and it was by impressions upon the internal senses that Swedenborg became cognizant of persons and things of the internal spiritual world. In short, all scepticism upon these subjects resolves itself into merely arguing in a circle, at some point of which the sceptic arbitrarily stops; for, like Falstaff, the sceptic will give no reasons "upon compulsion."

Although Dr. Mayo admits a variety of recondite phenomena, the bare thought of which would frighten most sceptics from their propriety altogether, yet he does so, apparently, with the more willingness, because, by laying many of them together, he conceives them to be susceptible of an explanation which does not transcend the natural world. Dr. Mayo is not, however, a Materialist; and, indeed, he specially reproves the singular idea that *mind* should be considered as a *product of the brain*. Still, when the Doctor speaks of "the mind," one has no feeling conveyed as of anything *most* clear and definite. In Dr. Mayo's view, "the mind" of Mr. Wynyard, when he was dying, could act upon "the minds" of his brother and his friend, and, by so acting, could produce an image of himself, which image has yet no objective reality. Now, give to "the mind" an edge and a definedness—say, that it is pre-eminently the real entity—that it is the man himself, and that it is in a human form; and then it may be seen that you cannot very reasonably deny the objective reality of such a presentation as that of Mr. Wynyard, and that you can only deny it by the help of this shadowy and undefined mode of speaking (and thinking) of "the mind."

Dr. Mayo unites with the general body of the sceptics in pronouncing *the clothing of spirits* to be alone enough to destroy our belief in any objective reality for the wearers of the clothes.

The worst of a true ghost, writes Dr. Mayo, is, that to be sure of his genuineness, that is, of his veracity, we must wait the event. He is distinguished by no sensible and positive characteristics from the common herd. There is nothing in his outward appearance to raise him in your opinion above a mere fetch. But even this fact is not barren. His dress—it is in the ordinary mode of the time, in nothing overdone. To be dressed thus, does credit to his taste, as to be dressed at all evinces his sense of propriety; but alas! the same convict him of objective unreality. Whence comes that aerial coat and waistcoat, whence those visionary trousers? alas! they can only have issued from the wardrobe in the seer's fancy. And, like his dress, the wearer is imaginary, a mere sensorial illusion, without a shadow of externality: he is not more substantial than a dream.

Very wonderful, certainly, to the Spiritualist is the logic of scepticism—there cannot be real coats and waistcoats in the spiritual world! that is enough to settle the question as to the reality of the wearers, although if such arguments are to be persisted in, they may as well be applied at once *to the bodily form itself* of the spirit. In the natural world, a man's body is as much from the elements of nature as his coat and his waistcoat are. The truth is, that to deny that the spiritual world is, to the spiritual man, objective and similar to the natural world, is tantamount to denying it altogether; for who can really believe in that of which he has not the least conception; and without objectivity there is no conception, either in the worlds of matter or of mind. Such denials as the foregoing are an assuming to be wiser than are the great artists who represent what is spiritual *by forms*, and thereby somewhat minister to an earnest want of the mind, which want is in itself alone enough to shew, that all scepticism involves nothing less than a separation of the intellect from the feelings, to the infinite detriment of the former. Dr. Mayo conceives that all is set at rest by asking, "whence come the aerial coats and waistcoats?" but suppose the question tested by an inversion of itself, and that *we* should ask, whence come what Dr. Mayo conceives to be the *real* coats and waistcoats? It must then be replied, that all nature and its substances are of a divine and spiritual origin, and that when a man makes up some of those substances into the forms of coats and waistcoats, those forms are also of a spiritual origin, because the man contrives them by a spiritual act.

Dr. Mayo gravely observes, that Shakespeare has moulded the Ghost in *Hamlet* upon "the pattern of *vulgar superstition*," and adds also that Shakespeare "employs indifferently the *baser metal* and the truthful inspirations of his own genius." Now we must venture to say, that if Shakespeare had done so, it would have been particularly unpardonable in a play in which he has taken occasion to make Hamlet so severely reprehend *all compliances with vulgar taste* on the part of the players, and has so pointedly shewn, as already noticed, that the end of all art is to hold the mirror up to nature. It is indeed anything but easy to understand how a great artist could possibly employ *indifferently* the *baser metal* and the true; nor is it much easier to understand how it is, that in spite of philosophical scepticism, the base metal should still pass current. To believe such things as Dr. Mayo thus attributes to Shakespeare, implies, we will not say, at least as much credulity as to believe in ghosts, but, as we cannot help thinking, infinitely more.

Again, Dr. Mayo states that "there are lines of admired and unaccountable beauty" in Shakespeare, which have been un-

expectedly found to have acquired "lucidity and appositeness," by their fitness to scientific facts, of which facts he must have been ignorant; and he characterizes such things as "*random intuitions*," and, perhaps, indeed, they could seem no other, when simply viewed according to a merely natural philosophy. But if the Spiritualist is right in affirming that *all natural facts are of a spiritual origin, and therefore are the reflections and exponents of spiritual things*, it is then seen that there was *no random intuition* in the case, and it is also seen that whenever a spiritual perception is clearly and beautifully expressed, it must necessarily be applicable to that which reflects it in nature; although, as Dr. Mayo observes, that merely natural fact might be then unknown. It may also be allowed to observe, in passing, that no one would be more strongly persuaded than Shakespeare, that there was an abundance of natural facts unknown, and to be known, and the idea has been embodied by him when he makes Cordelia invoke—

All blessed secrets—all you unpublished virtues of the earth.

Upon the whole, then, it is contended that Dr. Mayo, notwithstanding the number of remarkable facts which he admits into his philosophy, still falls very far short of what a complete view of the fine arts requires, because he wishes to explain all away into what is merely natural, although a subtle and refined natural, and, as a consequence, he cannot admit of facts, or explanations of facts, which will not square with a merely refined naturalism, or natural philosophy.

THE ARMOUR OF THE GHOST.

Some years ago a lecture upon *Hamlet* was delivered by a gentleman who was himself a poet, and who informed his audience that his admiration of that work had led him literally to commit it to memory. It was very curious to hear the manner in which the lecturer *handled the conduct* of the play; for, contrary to the usual custom, he raised the question of the author's *beliefs*.

It was quite evident, that in the midst of the most profound admiration for Shakespeare, the speaker was perplexed in the extreme between his own conviction that it was *impossible that Shakespeare could have believed in the supernatural*, and, on the other hand, that powerful air of reality which he saw pervaded the poem of *Hamlet*. He closed his address by saying, that Shakespeare, like every true philosopher, must have been *without fixed opinions* upon such a subject as the supernatural, and that his state must have been one of mere doubt. It need scarcely be said, that this was understood to be also the lecturer's own position, and one could hardly help thinking that the mere fact

of a sceptic, who was also a man of talent and a poet, being thus *perplexed with Hamlet* was in itself alone almost enough to prove that it had been written by one who had been in a very different mental state indeed.

The point, however, for which this lecture is specially adverted to was this: "*Where,*" said the speaker, "*did the ghost procure his armour?*"

We have already seen that it is a very favourite thing with the sceptics to raise objections founded upon the clothings of spiritual beings, and it well illustrates their singular tendency towards begging every question instead of reasoning it out. They never, for instance, seem to consider that even in the natural world men do not use clothings merely for decency and defence, which are, indeed, very good reasons, and might apply equally to spirits, admitting, only for argument's sake, their existence. Clothings are, however, used also for their beauty and power of adornment, and, above all, for their great significance. The love of dress has, therefore, a noble origin, and, at the least, it implies the desire to appear worthily. Obvious as are such considerations, the famous Mr. Bentham must surely have overlooked them when he spoke as follows, as we learn from certain memoranda of some of his conversations:—

I have helped to cure myself of the fear of ghosts, by reasoning thus: ghosts are clothed, or are not clothed; now I never saw, or fancied that I saw, a ghost without clothes; so, if there be ghosts of men, there must be ghosts of clothes too, and to believe this requires a further stretch of belief, and further evidence and authority.

That Shakespeare did not forget the significance of clothings, such passages as the following will sufficiently evince:—

I shall report,
For most it caught me, *the celestial habits,*
(*Methinks I so should term them*) and the reverence
Of the grave wearers. *Winter's Tale*, Act III, Scene 1.

In *pure white robes,*
Like very sanctity, she did approach. *Ibid.*, Scene 3.

There can be no kernel in this light nut; *the soul*
Of this man is his clothes. *All's Well that Ends Well*.

Youth no less becomes
The light and careless livery that it wears,
Than settled age his *sables* and his *weeds*,
Importing health and graveness. *Hamlet*.

It has already been pointed out that no piece of clothing can be made by the hands, without being first *contrived in and by the soul*, according to some end in view, a consideration altogether overlooked by the sceptics. If the internal world and its inhabitants be realities, the marvel would be the want of clothings for those inhabitants; and if they had them not, or seemed to

have them not, the sceptics would be the very first to see, and justly to ridicule, the incongruity.

In the "early *Hamlet*," when the ghost enters the queen's closet, there is a stage-direction to this effect—"Enter the Ghost in his night gown;" and the Spiritualist would be inclined to think that this direction had a sound basis, and that its subsequent omission must have been simply an inadvertency, and the idea would, at all events, not be weakened by considering Hamlet's words upon that occasion when he exclaimed—

My father ! in his habit as he lived.

Upon the well-known principle, then, that man clothes himself according to time, place, and occasion, it might perhaps seem that the armour would have been as much out of character in the Queen's closet as it was in character and in every respect appropriate for the platform.

It has been related, that when Tieck had the direction of the Dresden Theatre, he caused this change of the Ghost's dress to be adopted, and that it drew forth, as might have been expected, a query from the scoffers as to whether the Ghost had a wardrobe; and although we do not know whether Tieck, any more than other celebrated critics, had *philosophized affirmatively* upon the supernatural in art, yet he is represented as having had the boldness, upon this occasion, to reply, "Yes, a ghost has as many changes of dress as his errand needs."

It might also have been pointed out to these scoffers, that clothing is found even in what they would admit to be nature; that is, in the lower creations. in their hair and feathers, in which also nature makes certain changes, according to circumstances. Of man (by virtue of his higher position) it is no paradox to say that *his* clothing is at once *natural* and *artificial*. It is *natural* (in every sense of the word) for him to desire to be clothed, and that variously, according to an indefinite variety of circumstances. This desire is met by his having the power to produce *artificially* a piece of clothing, which has first however to be fashioned in his mind, according to the laws of his mind, or, which amounts to the same thing, according to the laws of the spiritual world. It is then only necessary to affirm that in the world of mind, or the spiritual world, the externity of the clothing follows upon its formation within the soul, and the answer made by Tieck is fully justified, as in fact containing a great truth, belonging both to philosophy and to art.

It may be observed likewise, as being very intimately connected with the present subject, that there is a feeling with all of us that certain states of the mind are apt to be induced according to the clothing of the body. People will sometimes say, that

they feel *mentally different* in *different clothings*; and it would not be right to think that this different mental feeling was merely an *effect* of what is called *association*, for association itself is an *effect* of the inherent significancy of the forms, colours, and substances which constitute those various clothings. Shakespeare, to whom every fact would be full of meaning, has made Perdita express this common perception as to various clothings, when being, as she says, alluding to her “unusual weeds,” “most goddess-like pranked up,” she afterwards exclaims:—

Sure, this robe of mine
Does change my disposition.

HAMLET'S SOLILOQUY.

To be, or not to be? that is the question.
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
And, by opposing, end them? To die,—to sleep,—
No more; and by a sleep, to say we end
The heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to,—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To die,—to sleep;—
To sleep! perchance to dream;—ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause: there's the respect,
That makes calamity of so long life:
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin? Who would these fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns, puzzles the will;
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of?
Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
And enterprizes of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry
And lose the name of action.

Having now quoted this famous soliloquy for Hamlet, it is wished to give brief extracts relating to it from those eminent writers Schlegel and Chateaubriand, by way of introduction and groundwork to our own suggestions. The passage from Schlegel, which is in one of his dramatic lectures, runs thus:—

Hamlet has no firm belief, either in himself or in anything else; from expressions of religious confidence he passes over to sceptical doubts. He believes

in the ghost of his father when he sees it, and as soon as it has disappeared, it appears to him almost in the light of a deception. . . . It has been censured as a contradiction, that Hamlet, in the soliloquy on self-murder, should say,

"The undiscovered country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns,"

for was not the Ghost a returned traveller? Shakespeare, however, purposely wished to shew, that Hamlet could not fix himself in any conviction of any kind whatsoever.

So far from Schlegel, and now follows the passage from Chateaubriand, which passage has been taken from that author's *Essay upon English Literature*:—

I continually ask myself how it was, that the philosophic Prince of Denmark could have had those doubts which he manifests concerning another life. After having conversed with the "poor ghost" of the king his father, should he not have known what to have believed?

We have now seen in succession passages from Shakespeare and from two eminent writers upon him, and we certainly feel ourselves entitled to suggest that, had the Shakespearian and Spiritualist philosophy, which teaches that man is an inhabitant of *two* worlds, been present to the minds of the critics, they could not have been so much perplexed by this soliloquy, and particularly by the fact that Hamlet, although he had seen his father's spirit, yet made use of the expression "the bourne" (*i.e.*, limit) "from which no traveller returns." Judging from this perplexity of the critics, it is evidently supposed by them that Hamlet's father, nevertheless, *had returned* from "the bourne" (or limit), and thus that Hamlet was making an assertion which his own experience had contradicted. According, however, to that philosophy which the Spiritualist believes to have been Shakespeare's, Hamlet was perfectly correct in using the phraseology, although it does not necessarily follow but that *in him* it might have been, not so much a truth reasoned out or verified in any way, as simply a deep intuition; in Shakespeare, of course, both. Surely, so far, there is no scepticism in Hamlet, nor inadvertency in Shakespeare: because, according to his philosophy, a departed spirit appears to the spiritual eyes of the man, and not to his natural eyes; consequently, does not, nor cannot, overpass "the bourne" (or limit), which separates the spiritual and causal world from the natural and effect world. Understood in this way, it is conceived that, so far from any contradiction or inadvertency existing upon Shakespeare's part, he has really shown, in his use of the word "bourne" (or limit), an admirable felicity in the expression of a truth. This view also seems to leave behind all necessity for Schlegel's mode of justifying Shakespeare; a mode which involves, moreover, so far-fetched a supposition as this—namely, that Hamlet could not even be certain, or at all events had forgotten, that *not only*

himself but several other persons had witnessed an appearance of an extraordinary kind.

Let us, however, now at least try what can be inferred from the whole soliloquy, by using the mode of *taking for granted that Shakespeare was right*, and had not fallen into the commission of any *inadvertency* at all, of any kind whatsoever. How great an *inadvertency* it would have been to have made Hamlet really talk scepticism may partly appear, when we recollect that Hamlet had already uttered such words as these—

I do not set my life (*i.e.* my natural life) at a pin's fee;
And for my soul, what can it do to that,
Being a thing *immortal as itself*?

And again, even when doubting whether the spirit which he has seen is really his father's spirit, Hamlet yet shews no doubts regarding the spiritual world, but altogether the reverse; indeed, words could not much more strongly express a faith in that world:—

The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil: *and the devil hath power*
To assume a pleasing shape: yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy
(*As he is very potent with such spirits*)
Abuses me to damn me.

Assuming then that Hamlet is no more of a sceptic in his famous soliloquy than he is elsewhere, it may be observed, that what that speech really appears to be, is this: neither more nor less than a series of general reflections upon the manner in which the fears of the future state operate upon mankind in general (with whom it is well known that the fears infinitely outweigh the doubts), and that not merely in *preventing self-destruction in trouble*, but in *staying the course of energetic action* for some end in this life.

Thus conscience does make cowards of *us all*,
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.

This last point, namely, the hindrance to action, has been perhaps scarcely noticed, so much does it seem taken for granted that Hamlet is merely thinking doubtfully of a future state, and also of terminating his own natural life. Upon the view here offered, we must rather think of the soliloquy as one of those trains of serious thought eminently characteristic of Hamlet, and thus we are led on to the next important point, which is this: that *all the phraseology of the speech* is true to that philosophy which teaches that man is an inhabitant of two worlds.

First then we have “the thousand *natural* shocks that *flesh* is

heir to," &c. Next comes "to die—to sleep"—the synonymous use of which words is not uncommon with the sincerest believers, and we all know what they mean in using them; that is, they mean the death, or sleep, of the natural body. It is surely the greatest mistake to dwell upon these words, "To die,—to sleep," as if they were applied by Hamlet to the spirit of man, the real man, instead of being spoken only of the natural body. This is, indeed, most clearly implied, when Hamlet afterwards says, following upon the very words "To die,—to sleep,"—

*To sleep! perchance to dream; ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,—&c. &c.*

Still, however, these words, "dream" and "dreams" are made stumbling-blocks of, although "sleep," having been affirmed of the natural body, the idea of "dreams" (even when applied to the awful realities of the future state) seems to spring naturally from the metaphorical use of the word "sleep." For the *natural man* occasionally to speak of the realities of the *spiritual world* as dreams, is not inconsistent with the firmest faith in those realities; in short, it is at times *natural* for him to do so.

Finally, that which has been thought so peculiarly perplexing as coming from Hamlet, concerning the "undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns," needs not Schlegel's attempt at explanation, but is seen to be simply the expression of a truth; for, as already shewn, the ghost had *not* returned from "the bourne" (or limit) of the spiritual world, but had been seen by the *spiritual eyes* of his son; while to the Queen, seeing only with the *natural eyes*, (with which, as she says, "all that is, I see,") the ghost is invisible.

To the Spiritualist, then, who finds his own philosophy reflected in several expressions of the happiest kind, occurring in this famous soliloquy, it is truly wonderful that it should ever have been tortured into scepticism. The whole mystery is apparently solvable, if we simply admit that Hamlet never doubted man to be both *spiritual and natural*, and that those phrases in the soliloquy which are of termination or death, apply only to the latter.

Here then, still upon the vexed question of what is implied in this remarkable soliloquy, the Spiritualist contends that there are no inadvertencies or contradictions at all in the case; that Hamlet is yet consistent with himself, and Shakespeare yet perfectly in the right.

THE GHOST IN HAMLET.—DR. JOHNSON.

THE following remarks by Dr. Johnson, concerning the plot of *Hamlet*, seem to be *curiously infelicitous*, especially as coming

from a celebrated Moralist. However, it is interesting to note the views of such a man as Dr. Johnson, and it is wished to give those views a respectful attention. The doctor observes that,

The poet is accused of having shewn little regard to poetical justice, and may be charged with equal neglect of poetical probability. The apparition left the regions of the dead to little purpose; the revenge which he demands is not obtained but by the death of him that was required to take it, and the gratification which would arise from the destruction of an usurper and a murderer, is abated by the untimely death of Ophelia, the young, the beautiful, the harmless, and the pious.

Of the Ghost in *Hamlet* we thus find Dr. Johnson remarking, that he "left the regions of the dead to little purpose," and this was evidently a *critical objection* in Dr. Johnson's mind.

Now, as it seems to be impossible but that it would occur to Shakespeare that such an objection might be offered, we then have, it is submitted, an additional presumption as to what his views of the case must have been.

If Shakespeare believed, or, to speak more properly, *knew*, that every spirit is a man, and every man a spirit, his conduct of the story seems to be altogether artist-like. The ghost is actuated by a just desire (in a *pagan* sense), for revenge of his great injury. It does not appear that he either knew, or sought to know, what other consequences might flow from what he was doing. We may be sure, that during his earthly life he would have done likewise, for the mere fact that a man has quitted the external, natural body, does not alter his inner nature. Had Shakespeare simply written for what is called *effect*, it would have appeared to him, as it did to Dr. Johnson, and possibly to many others, inconsistent that the supernatural appearance should so far fail, as to cause, not only the death of several innocent persons, but also that of Hamlet himself.

The whole, indeed of Dr. Johnson's critique is singular, to those who think that Shakespeare's beliefs are involved in the complete question of *Hamlet* as a work of art; nor is it, moreover, very easy to see how any tragedy at all could be written so as to escape some such remarks, if they were really applicable to *Hamlet*. It is quite true to nature, that things which we speak or act, with only a limited end of our own in view, produce the most unlooked-for effects, and Shakespeare would not think himself obliged, upon his views of truth and art, to suffer any particular person to rule events, merely because that person had left the world of nature. It is also to be observed that the Ghost, from his own account, is very far from being a good spirit, and his state is one of suffering. Upon our views, the author of *Hamlet* must have believed in a future state, which state would be coloured by the life led in

nature ; and, to the most of men, in that doctrine of a future state, is confessedly to be found *the only solution of numerous enigmas, of which we are all sensible, quite as dark, and apparently as inconsistent, as anything in the story of Hamlet.*

Although Shakespeare has not, as Dr. Johnson observes, executed what is called "*poetical justice*" as respects the fate *in this world*, of the different persons of the piece, yet he has been careful throughout to indicate or involve a *higher justice*. The whole texture of the poem of *Hamlet* assumes a spiritual world, with its various states, and therefore when the ghost speaks of the sufferings consequent upon his sins, when Laertes expects that his sister will be "a ministering angel;" when Hamlet invokes "the heavenly guards" to "save and hover over" him; and when Horatio, at the last, calls upon the "flights of angels," to sing Hamlet to his rest, this texture of the poem requires that all these things should be understood as *truths*, and not as merely being poetic licences. In short, Shakespeare may be seen not to have forgotten himself at all, in any respect, if we will only do *what Dr. Johnson omitted to do*; namely, *consider the whole poem; the spiritual part, as well as the natural.*

Dr. Johnson himself has been not unfrequently smiled at, for his tendency to believe in the supernatural; but is it not true, that, although strongly *feeling* the importance of the subject, he did not sufficiently *see*, what he thus strongly *felt*, since he appears to have had some idea of a kind of *legal evidence* being wanted for the fact of spiritual appearances. Thus, "talking of ghosts," as Boswell informs us, he said—

It is wonderful that five thousand years have now elapsed since the creation of the world, and still it is undecided whether or not there has ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after death. All argument is against it, but all belief is for it.

And again, when a ghost-story of John Wesley's was spoken of, Dr. Johnson said,—

"I am sorry that I did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it." Upon this, Miss Seward, with an incredulous smile, said, "What! sir, about a ghost?" "Yes, Madam;" replied he, "this is a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human mind."

Such was the style in which Dr. Johnson treated the subject, and it is to be regretted that so able and religious a man should thus have thought as to the *argumentative* force upon his own side. Had he perceived that all argument *was for*, and not against, spiritual appearances, we should have had a very different, and far more valuable critique upon *Hamlet* from his hand. The doctor seems to have considered that the strongest evidence for a spiritual appearance should be of that legal kind

which is possible concerning anything in nature; yet his knowledge of mankind might have taught him, that, *to those who begin with mere unbelief*, such evidence is impossible. They do not profess to doubt that people have seen ghosts; that is, *fancied that they saw them*; it is the *objective reality* of which they doubt, and of which it is absolutely impossible to convince any one who *thinks from the natural eye alone*, when the object in question is of the *spiritual eye*. Accordingly, although the Spiritualist feels every proper interest in what he conceives to be any well-authenticated spiritual appearances, he would not lay the greatest stress upon them, in seeking to convince the sceptic, who is to be more legitimately reached, if at all, in another way. Had Dr. Johnson taken up the absolutely affirmative view and had requested of the sceptics, who profess to settle everything by reason, to reason concerning *Hamlet*, he would have been impregnable. He could have shewn them that this work, taking a supernatural appearance for granted, was admired by all sorts of people, and that, both in simple perusal, or in stage representation. He could have called upon the sceptics to explain how this had happened, *if the whole foundation of Hamlet was false*, and as it would have been impossible for them, upon their views, to offer any sound reason for this universal admiration of *Hamlet*, they must have been forced to the acknowledgment that *reason itself* was against them. We might then have had a real critique upon *Hamlet*, for Dr. Johnson, as we have just seen, deeply felt the importance, both in theology and philosophy, of the question involved in such a critique. As it was, he allowed to the sceptics, that "all argument" was against ghost-belief, and thus quite incapacitated himself from writing anything valuable upon *Hamlet*, a work which most assuredly could no more have existed, and have been received as it is, if spiritualities were not *realities*, than a shadow could exist without some real object from which it might be projected.

Let us then learn to give criticism a more complete basis than it has hitherto possessed, by *no longer omitting to consider the supernatural*; and as an indispensable step in that direction, let us cease to think of that supernatural, as being either the *suspension* or the *contradiction* of material external laws, but as the *manifestation* of spiritual internal laws. We should not then find ourselves exclaiming "Why should the Divine permit his laws to be *suspended*, or *contradicted*, for this or that insufficient end?" And then, on the strength of our own assumptions, refusing to examine into facts, and often putting forth a very narrow and unjust critique upon the works of the greatest artists; men whom we ought, even for our own sakes, to be slow indeed in pronouncing to be wrong.

THE GHOST IN HAMLET.—AN ILLUSION.

The following passage from a work by Mr. Charles Ollier, strikingly shows how even able writers can *forget* what is in the author whom they admire and write about :—

“ It faded at the crowing of the cock,” says Marcellus to Horatio, speaking of the grand phantom of Hamlet’s father, the most awful apparition evoked by the imagination of man—a royal shade, more potent as the monarch of spirits, than when, in the body, it wielded the sceptre of then mighty Denmark. But with all its attributes of power, “ the majesty of buried Denmark,” could only “ *revisit the glimpses of the moon,*” making “ *night hideous* ” As dawn came on, the “ *illusion faded.* ”

The above is the opening paragraph of a volume written to shew the fallacy of ghosts, dreams, and the like, and by one who is most clearly an ardent admirer of Shakespeare, but whose want of faith in the supernatural has here led him, unconsciously, to quote from *Hamlet* with a most strange one-sidedness. Who, not having read *Hamlet*, but would imagine that Mr. Ollier actually had Shakespeare upon *his* side of the question, or could conceive that every means had been adopted by Shakespeare, in order to give all the marks of reality to “ the grand phantom,” as Mr. Ollier styles the ghost.

Shakespeare has made the ghost visible and audible to three persons at once, and, as to Hamlet *communicating facts before unknown to him*; yet Mr. Ollier appears only to have remembered those things which *seemed* to harmonize with his own views; namely, the *night-appearances* of the ghost, and his *fading* at the approach of the morning.

Mr. Ollier owns, as we perceive, to being deeply impressed by the ghost, and it cannot but be regretted, that instead of endeavouring to explain away the supernatural, he had not rather sought the still more difficult task of explaining away Shakespeare’s *artistic right* to use supernatural themes, and *the right* of his readers to be delighted with that use. This, would at least have been *new*, and would have given an infinitely greater scope for argument and ingenuity than can possibly be shewn by any attempts to annihilate supernaturalism, those attempts being founded upon views merely physical; spiritual views and *art-considerations* being altogether set aside.

ANTIGONUS.—HOTSPUR.

In a volume entitled *Philosophy of Shakespeare*, in which passages from the poet are ranged under certain headings, with occasional remarks, the author, Mr. Rankin, thus expresses himself—

Shakespeare’s superiority to the superstitious times in which he lived, is absolutely amazing; especially when we consider that such a mind as Sir M.

Hale's succumbed to them. Read the speech of Antigonus on ghosts, the reasoning of Hotspur on omens and then admire a genius that was centuries in advance of his age.

Now it is sufficiently curious, that Mr. Rankin has altogether forgotten that Antigonus, who intimates that he is a sceptic, *is shewn in the play to be quite wrong*, at least for once. The dream which had so much wrought upon him, as to make him say (after having pronounced "dreams to be toys"), that he will, nevertheless, be "superstitiously squared by this," is fulfilled, and the just inference might be, that the scepticism belongs to Antigonus alone, and the belief to Shakespeare. Those who have really gone into the subject, know what powerful evidence there is for the fact of prophetic dreams, and are satisfied that Shakespeare knew it also. Those who think that Shakespeare would introduce a prophetic dream, without having studied the subject of prophetic dreams, are requested to consider that a painter who loves his art, and seeks for lasting reputation, does not allow himself to introduce anything into his picture, even the meanest weed, without studying it.

The case with respect to Hotspur equally illustrates the forgetfulness of Mr. Rankin as to the real point in question. In the fine scene between Hotspur and Glendower, there is a great deal of smart, cutting scepticism evinced by the former. He is, however, checked by Mortimer, who assures him that Glendower is—

A worthy gentleman, exceedingly well read, and profited in strange • concealments.

And how does Shakespeare carry on the scene? Why, by making Glendower give an auricular proof of his open communication with the inner world. When Mortimer says that he will sit and hear his wife sing, Glendower replies:—

Do so;
And those musicians that shall play to you,
Hang in the air a thousand leagues from hence;
Yet straight they shall be here: sit, and attend.

He then speaks some Welsh words, and then the music plays. But does this produce any effect upon Hotspur's unbelief? None in the least; and Shakespeare here has given the absolute proof of his observation upon a certain species of scepticism, which, instead of being at all moved to gravity or examination by some noteworthy fact, is only disposed to turn it into ridicule. Thus Hotspur, when he hears the music, only says,—

*Now I perceive the devil understands Welsh;
And 'tis no marvel, he's so humorous.
By 'r lady, he's a good musician.*

Shakespeare has also kept close to nature in not giving any

remark upon Glendower's power to the other persons present, to whom, supposing that power to have been familiar, it had ceased, in some sense, to be marvellous. Had Shakespeare, however, been a sceptic, and yet so regardless of his own ideas of truth, as to have introduced the spiritual music for the sake of something called *effect*, there could not have been this *quietness* of treatment; light jesting on the part of Hotspur, and absolute silence with the rest.

It may be added, that even Mr. Charles Knight also, has evidently overlooked what Shakespeare has made Glendower *do*, and the unavoidable inference from his doings. Mr. Knight contrasts "the solemn *credulity*" of Glendower with the "sarcastic *unbelief*" of Hotspur; but we have now seen, that, on Shakespeare's shewing, it should have been "solemn *certainly*, and not "solemn *credulity*," which is to be affirmed of Glendower; for in this scene, he not only believes that he can, and says that he will, do a certain thing; that is, summon musicians of the inner world, but he *actually does* do it.

It is, certainly, one of the most striking proofs of the effect which preconceived opinions have upon criticism, that such points as the above, in a writer like Shakespeare, should have remained totally unnoticed, nay, *unseen*. Every one will admit, that in order to be a critic upon Shakespeare, human nature must be studied by the critic, otherwise he cannot appreciate the author's treatment of it. It remains to be admitted, that the manifestations of the inner world must also be studied by the critics for the same reason.

TROILUS.—THESEUS.

In addition to the cases of Antigonus and Hotspur, those of Troilus and Theseus may be adduced as fresh instances of the manner in which Shakespeare shews the sceptic to be in error, by placing him in opposition to the facts of the story. Thus Troilus treats his brother Helenus, and his sister Cassandra, very cavalierly, after the approved fashion of the doubters. He says to Helenus:—

You are for dreams and slumbers, brother priest.

And when Hector, upon the entrance of Cassandra, raving and prophesying, asks,—

Now, youthful Troilus, do not these high strains
Of divination in our sister, work
Some touches of remorse.

The reply shews Troilus as only seeing that "Cassandra's mad," "her raptures brainsick," &c., yet "the high strains of divination" really were within her.

Finally, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Theseus makes a celebrated speech, every line of which is sceptical, yet *the conduct* of the play falsifies the Duke's reasonings, or, as they should rather be called, his assertions. Hippolyta having observed to him,—

'Tis strange, my Theseus, that these lovers speak of.

He thus replies, *paying no attention*, be it observed, to the fact that Hippolyta is speaking from the testimony of four persons; a very artful stroke on the part of Shakespeare at the sceptics.

Theseus. More strange than true. I never may believe
These antique fables, nor these fairy toys.
Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact;
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold—
That is the madman; the lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt;
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination
That if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush supposed a bear.

To this speech Hippolyta very justly answers, that—

All the story of the night told over,
And all their minds transfigured thus together
More witnesseth than fancy's images,
And grows to something of great constancy
But, howsoever, strange, and admirable.

Here again, Shakespeare shows his nice observation of the sceptical mind. Every one who has conversed on any subject, with persons *predetermined, on that subject, not to believe*, must have observed how common it is for the latter, when fairly brought to a stand-still, to lapse into a dead silence, instead of saying, as the lover of truth would do, "What you have alleged is very reasonable, and I will now examine." *They* can say no more, nor may *you*. Accordingly, to the incontrovertible speech of Hippolyta, Theseus makes no reply.

It is a truly noteworthy and significant fact, that to the sceptical Theseus should have been allotted by Shakespeare the sceptical idea concerning the poet; namely, as being the embodiment of the unreal, and not as being the copyist of what is true. It is exactly in character, that the doubting Theseus should thus speak of the poetic art, and *thence we may be sure that the poet*

who wrote the lines for him, thought precisely the very reverse. Owing, however, to the general doubt concerning the supernatural, and the consequent assumption of Shakespeare's disbelief, this point seems never to have been considered, and it may be safely affirmed that nine hundred and ninety-nine readers out of every thousand, would gravely quote the lines upon the poet, *as containing Shakespeare's own idea*, although, only five lines previously, *Theseus has placed the poet in the same category with the lunatic*. From the purely dramatic character of his works, Shakespeare can never *speak* in his own person, but he can always *act*; that is, so frame his story as that scepticism shall be shewn to be entirely at fault.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the following axioms are submitted to the consideration of those who are interested in criticism respecting Shakespeare.

1st. That all *good art* is absolutely *true*, or it could not be good.

2nd. That to the true artist, whatever he cannot feel to be *absolutely true* in its foundations, is altogether intolerable.

3rd. That all the difficulty in *intellectually* admitting these things, lies in the non-admission of an internal, causal world as absolutely real. It is said, in *intellectually* admitting, because the influence of the arts proves that men's *feelings* always have admitted, and do still admit, this reality.

4th. That neither pure Immaterialism (nor Idealism), on the one hand, or pure Materialism, on the other, can be considered but as *half-philosophies*, consequently, that neither of them, singly, could have been the philosophy of such a man as Shakespeare.

5th. The great artist is pre-eminently the man of fact and common sense. He sees more facts than other men do, and also the common-senseness of those facts.

6th. All good Art takes both the spiritual and natural worlds for granted, and works with both, according to the laws of both, and with such effect, that the best artists are by common consent, placed above all other men; and justly so. To be what they are, whether as poets, painters, or musicians, they must not only have the most powerful sense of the objective realities of both worlds, but they are also gifted with *the faculty of realising their perceptions*, so as to convey them to other men.

7th. That these axioms admitted, an additional evidence is gained for the highest truths of all—those of Religion, which are thus shewn to be at one with all that tends to raise and refine mankind.

CATALOGUE
OF
AN EXCEEDINGLY CHOICE AND VARIED
COLLECTION
OF
Books and Wood Engravings
BY, OR RELATING TO
THOMAS & JOHN BEWICK,
AND THEIR PUPILS,
COLLECTED BY
MR. EDWIN PEARSON.

Many of the Volumes are in Elegant Bindings by Messrs. BEDFORD,
LEWIS, ZAEHNSDORF, HAYDAY, and others.



ALSO

A few Miscellaneous Rare, Curious and Useful Books.

WHICH WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
BY MESSRS.

SOTHEBY, WILKINSON & HODGE,

Auctioneers of Literary Property & Works illustrative of the Fine Arts,
AT THEIR HOUSE, No. 13, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.

On WEDNESDAY, 10th of JUNE, 1868, and following Day,
AT ONE O'CLOCK PRECISELY.

May be Viewed Two Days previous, and Catalogues had.

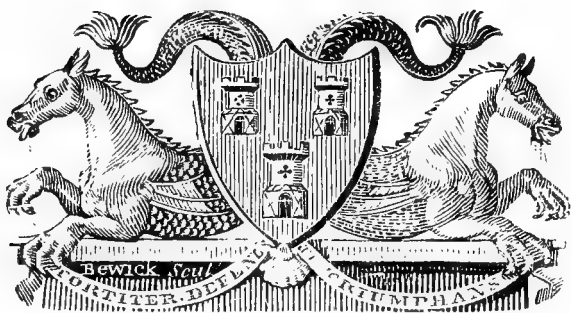
CONDITIONS OF SALE.

- I. The highest bidder to be the buyer; and if any dispute arise between bidders, the lot so disputed shall be immediately put up again, provided the seller cannot decide the said dispute.
- II. No person to advance less than 6*d.*; above ten shillings, 1*s.*; above five pounds, 2*s.* 6*d.*; and so on.
- III. The purchasers to give in their names and places of abode, and to pay down 10*s.* in the pound, if required, in part payment of the purchase-money; in default of which the lot or lots purchased to be immediately put up again and re-sold.
- IV. The lots to be taken away at the buyer's expense, immediately after the sale; in default of which Messrs. SOTHEY, WILKINSON and HODGE will not hold themselves responsible if lost, stolen, damaged, or otherwise destroyed, but they will be left at the sole risk of the purchaser. If, at the expiration of ONE WEEK after the conclusion of the sale, the books or other property are not cleared or paid for, they will then be catalogued for immediate re-sale, and the expense, the same as if re-sold, will be added to the amount at which the books were bought. Messrs. SOTHEY, WILKINSON and HODGE will have the option of re-selling the Lots uncleared, either by public or private sale, without any notice being given to the defaulter.
- V. The books are presumed to be perfect, unless otherwise expressed; but if, upon collating, any should prove defective, the purchaser will be at liberty to take or reject them, provided they are returned within ONE WEEK after the conclusion of the sale, when the purchase-money will be returned.
- VI. The sale of any book or books is not to be set aside on account of any stained or short leaves of text or plates, want of list of plates, or on account of the publication of any subsequent volume, supplement, appendix, or plates. All the manuscripts, autographs, all periodicals, transactions, magazines and reviews, all books in lots, and all tracts in lots or volumes, will be sold with all faults, imperfections, and errors of description. The sale of any lot of prints or drawings is not to be set aside on account of any error in the enumeration of the numbers stated, or errors of description.
- VII. No IMPERFECT BOOKS will be taken back, unless a note accompanies each book, stating its imperfections, with the number of lot and date of the sale at which the same was purchased.
- VIII. To prevent inaccuracy in the delivery, and inconvenience in the settlement of the purchases, no lot can on any account be removed during the time of sale.
- IX. Upon failure of complying with the above Conditions, the money required and deposited in part of payment shall be forfeited; and *if any loss is sustained in the re-selling of such lots as are not cleared or paid for, all charges on such re-sale shall be made good by the defaulters at this Sale.*

Gentlemen who cannot attend the Sale may have their Commissions faithfully executed by their humble Servants,

SOTHEY, WILKINSON & HODGE,

Wellington Street, Strand.

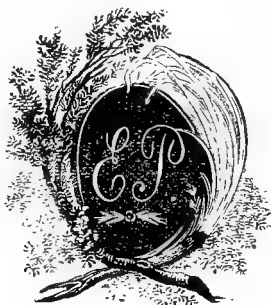


INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.



THE Books, Prints, and other rarities offered to the notice of Connoisseurs in this Catalogue, as illustrated by or relating to the world-renowned engravers on wood, Thomas and John Bewick, are deserving of special attention. Such an opportunity of securing scarce and choice copies of the productions of those celebrated Artists is not likely soon, if ever, again to occur. To the contents of this Sale, many parts of Great Britain, and even Germany and America, have yielded contributions. Many exquisite specimens are from the Libraries or Portfolios of Miss Bewick, John Bell, Esq., Thomas Bell, Esq., J. T. Brockett, Esq., Emerson Charnley, Esq., Wm. Garret, Esq., J. Sykes, Esq., J. Fenwick, Esq., G. Daniel, Esq., Rev. Samuel Prince, M.A., J. G. Bell, Esq., and from numerous private and local collections. Among the books and engravings gathered from so many quarters, will be found nearly all the principal and much prized works of the noted Newcastle-on-Tyne Artists, as enumerated in the "*Descriptive Catalogue of Bewick's Works*," published by John Gray Bell in 1851; and in "*The Bewick Collector*," by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., in 1866; besides several unique specimens.

It may be stated that, in searching out from all accessible sources, choice specimens of the Works of the Bewicks, Mr. Edwin Pearson (*late of 64, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.*), has had largely in view a long and warmly-cherished object—the compilation of a Memoir of Thomas and John Bewick, with copious biographical notices of their Pupils, profusely illustrated from wood blocks by the Artists themselves. Opportunities for gathering the requisite materials for such a work are rapidly passing away, and can never return. From personal friends of the Artists yet living, from pupils, from original letters and other authentic documents, Mr. E. Pearson has industriously collected a body of reliable and interesting information, which in connection with facts already published, and with appropriate illustrations, would, it is believed, form a very desirable and important addition to our Bewick literature. Considerable progress has been made in the literary department of the work, and it is proposed to print an impression on large fine paper, with India proofs, *limited to One Hundred*, at £1. 1s. per copy. The ordinary sized copies would be proportionately lower in price. Noblemen and gentlemen disposed to encourage its publication, are invited to intimate their pleasure to become Subscribers through Mr. DAVID WHITE, Bookseller, 22, Coventry Street, London, W.





Thomas Bewick

"The name of Thomas Bewick is a 'household word,' and his works are to be found in every region where the language of England is spoken, or her literature cultivated. There are few works which have been so universally diffused as those of Bewick. They are read, studied, admired, and appreciated by intellects of every grade, and by persons of all ages—by the young, by the middle-aged, and by the old. Those who worship nature, and those who worship art, agree in the admiration of the volumes of Bewick."—*British Quarterly Review*.

"His woodcuts universally show the hand of a master. There is in them a boldness of design, a correctness of outline, an exactness of attitude, and a discrimination of general character, to which nothing in modern times has ever aspired, and which the most eminent old artists have not surpassed."—*Annual Review*.

The distinguished ornithologist AUDUBON writes of BEWICK—

"He was purely a son of Nature, to whom alone we owe all that characterised him as an artist and as a man. Warm in his affections, of deep feeling, and possessed of vigorous imagination, with correct and penetrating observation, he needed little extraneous aid to make him what he became, the first engraver on wood that England has produced. Look at his tail-pieces, Reader, and say if you ever saw so much life represented before. As you turn each successive leaf from beginning to end of his admirable book, scenes calculated to excite your admiration everywhere present themselves. Assuredly you will agree with me in thinking that in his peculiar path none has equalled him."

THOMAS BEWICK born August, 1753, died November, 1828.
JOHN BEWICK born 1760, died 1795.



CATALOGUE
OF THE
EXCEEDINGLY CHOICE AND VARIED COLLECTION
OF
BOOKS AND WOOD ENGRAVINGS
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THOMAS AND JOHN BEWICK,
COLLECTED BY
MR. EDWIN PEARSON.

FIRST DAY'S SALE.

(SIZES MIXED.)

LOT

- 1 A Description of Three Hundred Animals, LARGE PAPER,
Crosby, 1812—Fisher's Spring Day, Third edition,
1808—Bewick's Album, Vignettes, Animals, &c.,
neatly mounted, half morocco, t. e. g. 8vo. (3)
- 2 A Description of Three Hundred Animals, Birds, Fishes, &c.,
cuts by Bewick and Pupils
tree marbled calf neat, t. e. g. by Zaehnsdorf
8vo. *Crosby*, 1812
- 3 Adventures of Captain Gulliver, *Newbery*—Fairy Tales—Two
Sisters—King and Fairy Ring—England's Monarchs,
quaint cuts of Heads—Tom Telescope, 1812—Fortu-
natus, droll cuts—Way to be Happy, *Glasgow*, 1819
v. y. (6)
- 4 Adams' (T.) Battle of Trafalgar, and other Poems, 1811—
North Minstrel, Songs, 1811—T. Donaldson's Poems,
1809—J. Beattie's Poems, 1814, 2 copies—Fergu-
son's Poems, 2 vol. 1814—Garlands, Newcastle Rider,
Hermit of Warkworth, &c.
Stirling, Alnwick, Newcastle, &c. v. y. (8)
- 5 Adams' (T.) Poems, *uncut*, 1811—Beattie's Minstrel, Bewick's
vignettes and Clennell's cuts, *Alnwick*, 1814, 3 copies,
half morocco, t. e. g.—Northumbrian Minstrel, 1811
Alnwick, v. y. (5)

- 6 Adams. Another set, same as preceding, except Adams' Poems, 1811
half morocco, t. e. g. Alnwick, v. y. (5)
- 7 Æsop's Fables, by Robert Dodsley, London, J. Dodsley, 1786
—A new edition, London, 1798, "cuts, T. Gilbert del. et sculp. 1777"—A new edition, Gainsborough, J. and H. Mozley's First edition, n. d., all different sets of cuts (3)
- 8 Æsop. By R. Dodsley, Gainsborough editions, Osborne and John Mozley, mottled calf gilt, by Zaehnsdorf—
Another edition, J. and H. Mozley, Gainsborough—
Another edition, London, 1824 (3)
- 9 Æsop. Life, by Richardson, 240 copper plates, n. d.—
Original Fables, by a Lady, 54 cuts, 1810—Æsop's Fables, by John Jackson, Lowndes, 1775—Fables de La Fontaine, Tarascon, 1833, cuts—Æsop, Geneva, 1628, *impft.* (5)
- 10 Æsop. By Samuel Croxall, Third edition, *impft.*, 1731—
Fourth edition, 1737—Seventh edition, 1760, *index impft.*—Fourteenth edition, 1788 v. d. (4)
- * * * Croxall's editions were favourites of Thomas Bewick's, and from them he gained many ideas.
- 11 Æsop. By S. Croxall, Fourteenth edition, 1788—Fifteenth edition, n. d.—Twenty-first edition, 1821—Twenty-second edition, 1825—Twenty-fourth edition, 1836 v. y. (5)
- 12 Æsop. Gainsborough editions of Æsop, by S. Croxall, 1804, vignette on title by Bewick—Another edition, 1814—
Twenty-fourth edition, London, 1836—Æsop's Fables, Dublin, 1824—Choix de Fables D'Esope, 21 gravures, curious, n. d. v. d. (5)
- 13 Æsop's Fables, with woodcuts by Thomas Bewick and E. Dyas, *tree calf gilt by Zaehnsdorf*
12mo. Wilson and Spence, York, 1810
- 14 Æsop. Another copy
tree marbled calf by Zaehnsdorf ib. York, 1810
- 15 Æsop. Another edition, cuts by Bewick, &c.
tree marbled calf by Zaehnsdorf ib. York, 1813
- 16 Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Warkworth Hermitage, &c.—Beattie's Minstrel, cuts by Bewick and Clennell, 3 copies Alnwick, 1814
- 17 Alnwick (History of), fine frontispiece, &c., by Bewick, 1813
—James Beattie's Minstrel, with Life, &c., 3 copies, cuts by Bewick and Clennell, 1814 Alnwick, v. d.

- 18 Alnwick Picture Book (3 parts in 1 vol.), *half calf, yellow edges*, 1808—Moral Tales, Contrast, Lessons in Prose.
Alnwick, &c., v. y. (2)
- 19 Alnwick (The) Poets, all with vignettes by Bewick, and cuts by Bewick and Clennell—Adams' Poems, 1811—Burns' (R.) Poems, *impft.* 2 vol. 1808—Beattie's Minstrel, 1814—Donaldson's (T.) Poems, 1809—Ferguson's (R.) Poems, 2 vol.—Northumberland Minstrel, 1811, 8 vol. *half morocco, boards, &c.*
William Davison, Alnwick, Northumberland, v. y.
- 20 Almanack. Comptoir Almanach, apt Schrikkel Jaar, MDCCXXXII door Jan A van Dane, early woodcuts illustrating the state of the art prior to Bewick and emblematic of the months of the year
curiously ornamental covers small 4to. 1732
** Sold in G. Daniel's sale, July 1864, for £1. 18s.
- 21 Ancient Ballads and Songs, *Manchester*, 1796—Kay's Preceptor, 1801—Poetry for Youth, *York*, 1824—Triumph of Goodnature, *Glasgow*, 1818; and two others
Manchester, Newcastle, Glasgow, v. d.
- 22 Anecdotes of Birds, *Savage*, 1809—Angus's New Preceptor, 1801—Reading Easy, 1839—Economist, 1798—and cheap Repository Tracts (odd parts)
Newcastle, &c. v. d.
- 23 Anecdotes—Packet of Pictures—Young Lady's Preceptor—Fables—Park's Travels, 1825—Animal Sagacity—Child's Instructor—Mrs. Fenwick's "Lecons," 1820
Newcastle, Dublin, &c. v. y. (6)
- 24 Astrography, or the Heavens Displayed, by J. Greig, 1810—Edwin and Henry, 1818, cuts by Branston—Nurse Lovechilds Reading Easy
York, 1803
- 25 Beattie's (James) Poems. Minstrel, Progress of Genius, &c. vignettes by Bewick and cuts by Clennell, 3 copies, *half morocco, uncut, Alnwick*, 1814—North Minstrel, 1811—Tyneside Songster, *Alnwick, n. d.*
Alnwick, v. y. (4)
- 26 Beattie's (J.) Minstrel, Progress of Genius and other Poems, 1797—Another edition, *Alnwick*, 1808—Another edition, *Alnwick*, 1810—and another edition, *Alnwick*, 1814—Angus's Preceptor, *Newcastle*, 1801
Alnwick and Newcastle, v. d. (6)
- 27 Bell's (John Gray) Descriptive Catalogue of Works, illustrated by John and Thomas Bewick, with additional cuts of the small "Chillingham Wild Bull," and

- “Huntsman and Old Hound,” on white satin; The Chillingham Wild Bull, 1789, *injured state of the block*; Large Lion and Tiger, on India paper; Proofs of Vignettes; Cuts from Children’s Toy Books; Tracts and other rare examples; neatly mounted, *half green morocco, uncut, t. e. g.* impl. 8vo. J. G. Bell, 1851
- 28 Bell’s (J. G.) Catalogue of Works illustrated by T. and J. Bewick, interleaved with cartridge paper, on which are neatly laid down numerous extra examples from Bewick’s earlier and rarest works, viz.: Gay’s Fables, 1779; Select Fables, 1784; Youth’s Entertaining Instructor; Proofs and Selected Impressions of the Quadrupeds, Birds, Vignettes, Blossoms of Morality, Looking-glass, Kings of England, Select Fables 1820, Book Plates, Durham Ox, Cook’s Voyages, (copper plates) &c.
half morocco, t. e. g. imperial 8vo. John Gray Bell, 1851
- 29 Bell (J. G.) A Collection of Cuts from Bewick’s various works; collected by J. G. Bell, and designed to further illustrate one of his catalogues, neatly mounted on loose sheets; and an Album of Droll Woodcuts.
- 30 Bell’s (John Gray) Descriptive Catalogue of Works illustrated by Thomas and John Bewick,
LARGE PAPER, *Subscription Copy, No. 5, formerly John Fenwick’s Copy* folio. 1851
- 31 Bell’s (Thomas) Catalogue of his Library of 15,000 Volumes of Scarce and Curious Books, &c., rich in Bewick Works, Cuts by him, Newcastle Reprints, Local Works, &c.
LARGE PAPER, *portrait, only 50 copies printed at a cost of £1 each* folio. Newcastle, 1860
- 32 Bell. Another Copy; Portrait, Cuts by Bewick, &c., also containing the Catalogue (at end) of Curious Prints, *only 20 copies printed, uncut folio.* Newcastle, 1860
- 33 Bell’s (Thomas) Sale of Bewick and Local Books, 1860, with a Collection of Cuts from Bewick’s Works, 8vo. formed by J. G. Bell, mounted on 4to. cartridge paper
Newcastle.
- 34 Bewick Collector (The) A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Thomas and John Bewick, including Cuts by Bewick, &c., by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A.,
uncut 8vo. Lovell Reeve, 1866
- 35 Bewick Collector. Another Copy. 1866
- 36 Bewick Collector. Another Copy, LARGE PAPER, *impl. 8vo. with portrait, only 100 copies printed this size.*
- 37 Bewick Collector. Another Copy, LARGE PAPER 1866

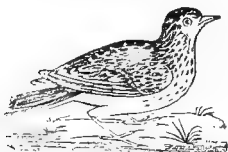
BEWICK'S (THOMAS) EARLY WORKS,

Published by THOMAS SAINT of Newcastle, the First Printer and Publisher of Books containing the earliest efforts of Thomas and John Bewick.

- 38 Hutton on Mensuration, said to be the first work illustrated by Thomas Bewick,
rough calf, rare 4to. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1770

* * One of the diagrams in this work is a representation of the celebrated steeple of St. Nicholas' Church.

- 39 Hutton. Another copy, *calf neat* 4to. *ib. ib.* 1770



- 40 BEWICK'S (T.) NEW LOTTERY BOOK OF BIRDS AND BEASTS, for Children to learn their Letters by, as soon as they can speak; 48 charming little cuts by Bewick, printed on thick paper, *original gilt paper binding, very clean, exceedingly rare* 32mo.
Newcastle: Printed by T. Saint, for W. Charnley, 1771

"Attention of Collectors is particularly directed to this interesting little gem—the earliest known work of Bewick, after Hutton's Mensuration, and not in Bell's Catalogue. In 1864 I succeeded in purchasing twelve copies in the shop of a worthy Newcastle bookseller, and discovering their great interest as early Bewick productions, I sold several copies to eminent Bewick Collectors. I find that in several cases they have been sold at £3. 3s. per copy. When the above and following copy are sold, 'the little curiosity' will be unattainable for 'love or money.'"—E. P.

- 41 Bewick. Another copy, *in its quaint gilt Dutch paper binding, very choice and clean state* T. Saint, Newcastle, 1771

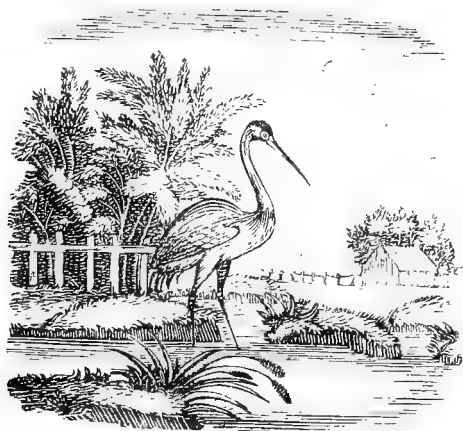


- 42 BEWICK'S TOMMY TRIP. Wood engravings from a Pretty Book of Pictures for Little Masters and Misses, or Tommy Trip's History of Beasts and Birds, Dog Jowler, Giant Woglog, &c., in the original tree-marbled calf binding, gilt and tooled
sm. 8vo. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1779

The publishers in the North of England, in several cases where the wood engravings of a book have been much admired, have printed proofs from the blocks in this way, paying more attention to each cut than could be bestowed on it when surrounded with type. Angus, Hodgson, Mitchell, Davison, and others have each produced volumes of wood engravings from their stores, which are now very rare; in many cases it is impossible to procure a copy as issued by these publishers. The rarity of the "Wood Engravings" to Tommy Trip may be estimated, as T. Saint was one of the earliest Newcastle publishers, and the first publisher of books having illustrations in them engraved by Bewick. These exceedingly interesting Bewick rarities were acquired under similar circumstances to "The Lottery Book," 1771 (see preceding lots), and all in one place; five copies out of *only nine* have been sold at £7. 10s. each. These three copies in all probability are all that can occur for sale.

- 43 Tommy Trip. Another Copy.
tree-marbled calf gilt 8vo. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1779
- 44 Tommy Trip. Another Copy
tree-marbled calf gilt 8vo. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1779

THE FOLLOWING EDITION IS A FAITHFUL REPRINT, THE CUTS BEING PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL BLOCKS.



[See Tommy Trip. p. 86.]

45 BEWICK'S TOMMY TRIP. A pretty Book of Pictures for little Masters and Misses ; or Tommy Trip's History of Beasts and Birds, with a familiar description of each in prose and verse. To which is prefixed—The History of Little Tom Trip Himself, of his dog Jowler, and of Woglog, the Great Giant. Written by Oliver Goldsmith for John Newbery, "The Philanthropic Bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard." 15th edition. Embellished with charming engravings on wood from the original blocks, engraved by Thomas Bewick, for T. Saint, of Newcastle, in 1779 ; with the history, adventures, and seclusion of the said blocks for nearly 100 years, set forth in a preface by the Publisher.

This and the following copies are all bound in F. BEDFORD'S "best" style, *straight grained red morocco elegant, double bands, gilt backs, &c., with double silk head bands, gilt tops, otherwise uncut (Kalthæber style) only 250 copies printed.*
fcp. 4to. Edwin Pearson, J. Davy & Sons, Lond. 1867

"For this elegant Reprint of an exceedingly rare and interesting little tome, right precious and dear to the heart of the genuine Bewick Collector, we are indebted in the first place to the liberality of our talented townsman, Robert White, Esq. The worthy living depositary of so much of the traditional lore of the 'North Countrie,' Mr. White, who is in possession of the only known copy of the original work, kindly placed the same in the hands of Mr. Edwin Pearson, who has evinced much good taste in the 'getting up' of this very limited edition of 'Tommy Trip.'"—*Newcastle Courant*, Oct. 25, 1867.

"Mr. Edwin Pearson, the faithful and tasteful collector of Bewick's admirable works, has reprinted a small number of copies of the book, with separate impressions of the engravings, taken on India paper, from the *original blocks*. There are seventy-seven of Bewick's designs in this volume, which will be highly prized by connoisseurs in art, and by lovers of literary antiquities, as well for Bewick's as for Goldsmith's sake."—*Illustrated London News*, Dec. 28, 1867.

"The book itself is capitally got up."—*Athenæum*, Jan. 25, 1868.

"This book really is an artistic treasure in its way, and ought to be thus appreciated by the public."—*Morning Star*, Jan. 13, 1868.

46 Bewick's Tommy Trip. Another Copy, precisely similar in every particular, *bound by F. Bedford, (Kalthoeber 'best' style) Edwin Pearson, J. Davy & Sons, Lond. 1867*

47 Tommy Trip. Another Copy *ib. ib.*

48 Tommy Trip. Another Copy *ib. ib.*

49 Tommy Trip. Another Copy *ib. ib.*

50 Tommy Trip. Another Copy *ib. ib.*

51 Tommy Trip. Another Copy *ib. ib.*

52	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>E. Pearson, London, 1867.</i>
53	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
54	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
55	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
56	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
57	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
58	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
59	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
60	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
61	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
62	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
63	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
64	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
65	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
66	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
67	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>
68	Tommy Trip.	Another Copy	<i>ib. ib.</i>

- 69 BEWICK'S (T.) TOMMY TRIP, *one of only two copies specially printed on fine writing VELLUM, half Roxburgh, g. t. e. otherwise uncut, by F. BEDFORD, portraits, photographs, &c. fcap. 4to. Edwin Pearson, London, 1867*

* * This volume may almost be described as UNIQUE, as only two copies were printed on VELLUM; the other copy is in the choice Collection of the gentleman who originated the idea, and in all probability his copy will never occur for sale; the cost of production *alone*—vellum, extra care in printing, binding, &c.—was estimated at nearly Twelve Guineas.

"As specimens of the early manner of the artist—for an artist Bewick may really be considered—the cuts in this "Tommy Trip" have considerable value. Admirers of Bewick will doubtless prize this volume, only 250 copies of which are printed."—*The Bookseller*, April 1st, 1868.

- 70 BEWICK'S (T.) TOMMY TRIP. A set of the seventy-seven wood engravings, without letter-press, printed on thin writing VELLUM, also a few extra impressions on SATIN, and photographs from the original edition, (R. White, Esq.'s copy) portraits, &c.,
A VERY INTERESTING AND UNIQUE VOLUME, *bound in white vellum and tastefully tooled, g. e. by Zaehnsdorf royal 8vo.*

- 71 Bewick. The Natural History of Fourfooted Beasts, by
TOMMY TRIP, droll cuts, certainly not by Bewick
half morocco, t. e. g. uncut 24mo. Glasgow, 1802
*** Rare and interesting to contrast with the genuine cuts of
the foregoing "Tommy Trips."
72 Bewick. Another Copy, precisely similar Glasgow, 1802



- 73 SELECT FABLES. T. Saint, 1784. In three parts

Part I. Fables extracted from Dodsley's;

Part II. Fables with Reflections in Prose and Verse;

Part III. Fables in Verse.

to which are prefixed the Life of Æsop and an Essay on Fable. "A NEW EDITION IMPROVED," for this edition a new set of cuts were engraved by Thomas and John Bewick. These cuts were then deemed superior to any of Bewick's previous productions.

calf neat, gilt, g. e. tall copy

12mo. Thomas Saint, Newcastle, 1784

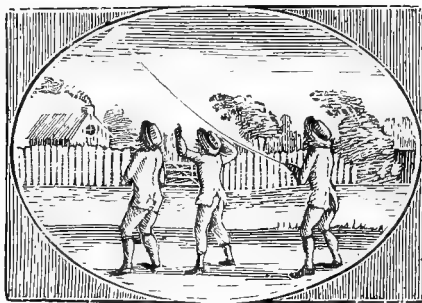
- *** This rare and beautifully illustrated book has been sold by auction for £7. 10s.

- 74 Select Fables. Another copy, *fine impressions of the cuts original sheep binding* 12mo. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1784

- 75 Select Fables. Another copy, *wanting the title and life of Æsop, half calf* 12mo. T. Saint, Newcastle, 1784

- 76 The Medley, *front. by Isaac Taylor*, Thirty-one Essays for the Benefit of Newcastle Lying-in Hospital, 8vo. J. White and T. Saint, 1766—The School Master's Guide, Second edition, by Charles Hutton, J. White and T. Saint, 1766 T. Saint, Newcastle, 1766

- *** T. Bewick was a great admirer of Isaac Taylor's designs. See "Memoir," 1862.



77 BEWICK'S (T. AND J.) EARLIEST AND RAREST WOOD ENGRAVINGS. TWELVE HUNDRED WOOD ENGRAVINGS by Thomas and John Bewick, engraved for Thomas Saint of Newcastle, and Wilson and Spence of York, previous to the years 1784 and 1810, including all the beautiful Cuts used in *New Lottery Book of Beasts and Birds*, 1771, *Child's Horn Book*, 1770, *Moral Instructions*, 1772, *Select Fables*, 1776, *Youth's Instructive and Entertaining Story Teller*, 1778, *A Pretty Book of Pictures*, or *Tommy Trip's History of Beasts and Birds*, 1779, *Gay's Fables*, 1779, *Select Fables*, 1784, *with the borders to each cut* (a most beautiful series of cuts), *Philip Quarll*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Little Jack*, *Cock Robin*, *Red Riding Hood*, *Cries of London and York*, *Robin Hood's Garland*, *Poetical Fabulator*, *Holy Bible in miniature*, *Full-length Kings and Queens of England*, with heraldic shields, *Fairing or Golden Toy*, the *Picture Book*, *Goody Two Shoes*, *Death of Abel*, *Watts' Divine and Moral Songs*, *Happy Family*, *Tommy Tagg's Poems*, *Patty Primrose*, several editions of *Æsop's Fables*, *Dodsley in Miniature*, *The Happy Family*, *Lessons of Truth*, *Morning Amusements or Tales of Quadrupeds*, *Afternoon Amusements or Tales of Birds*, *Christmas Tales*, *York Toy*, *Peter Painter's Pretty Picture Book*, and a whole host of *Juvenile Toy Books* now almost extinct; "and though many of these publications were of an extremely trivial nature, the Wood Engravings with which they were embellished caused them at this early period (1770 to 1810) to have an extensive sale," they have delighted thousands of "*Little Masters and Misses*" in years gone by, and are *nearly unknown* to the "*Bewick Collector*" of the present day, but will be instantly

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- 79 BEWICK'S (THOMAS) WORKS, LARGE AND THICK PAPER, viz.: BEWICK'S BRITISH LAND AND WATER BIRDS, 2 vol. *Newcastle*, 1805, Second edition, IMPERIAL 8vo. morocco tooled, g. e.; with the Supplements to Land and Water Birds, *Newcastle*, 1821, boards, uncut, royal 8vo—BEWICK'S BRITISH QUADRUPEDS, *Newcastle*, 1807, Fifth edition, IMPERIAL 8vo. morocco, tooled and gilt uniform with the *Birds*; the original binding by Lubbock of *Newcastle*—BEWICK'S ÆSOP'S FABLES, First edition, *Newcastle*, 1818, with subscriber's thumb-mark receipt, IMPERIAL 8vo. green morocco, elegantly tooled, uncut, t. e. g. by Zaehnsdorf, a few leaves neatly inlaid—SELECT FABLES, with Memoir and Catalogue of Bewick's Works, Portraits, &c. *Newcastle*, 1820, royal 8vo. green morocco, elegantly tooled, t. e. g. uncut, by Zaehnsdorf; inserted are Bewick's large engravings of the Wild Bull, Lion, Tiger, Elephant and Zebra, and the remarkable Kyloe Ox, (copperplate signed T. Bewick) 6 vol.,

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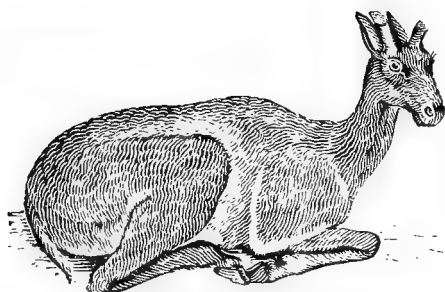
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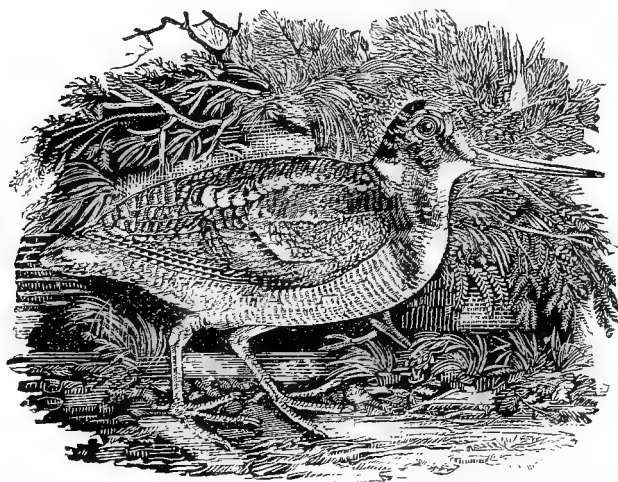
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- 97 Bewick's Quadrupeds, Eighth edition
calf gilt 8vo. Newcastle, 1824
- 98 Bewick's Quadrupeds, Eighth edition
8vo. E. Walker, Newcastle, 1824



[Facsimile of Bewick's "Woodcock," used in the "Penny Magazine,"
 July, 1841.]

- 99 Bewick (T.) British Land and Water Birds, 2 vol.
 LARGE PAPER, *uncut*, vol. 2 *impft.*
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- 100 Bewick's British Birds, First edition, Vol. 1 only, Land
 Birds, *calf neat 8vo. Sol. Hodgson, Newcastle, 1797*
- 101 Bewick. British Birds, First edition, Vol. 2, Water Birds,
impft., many of the Birds are beautifully coloured by
 Richard Wingate *Newcastle, 1804*
- 102 Bewick. Another Copy
impft. and binding broken *ib. 1804*
- 103 Bewick's Land Birds, Vol. 1, First edition
half calf neat 8vo. ib. 1797
- 104 Bewick. Another Copy, Vol. 1, *uncut 8vo. ib. 1804*
- 105 Bewick. Another Copy, soiled, Vol. 1 *8vo. ib. 1804*
- 106 Bewick's Figures of British Land Birds
calf neat, by Charles Lewis royal 8vo. ib. 1800
- * * This identical copy sold for £6. 10s. 0d. at Sotheby's,
 Rev. S. Prince's Sale, December 11th, 1865. Of this
 edition 500 were printed at 12s., but did not at that time
 meet with a ready sale, in consequence of which many of
 them were destroyed. Only the Land Birds were printed.
MS. Note.—It contains the tailpiece at the end in the
first state.
- 107 Bewick. Another Copy, *very tall 8vo.*
- * * This copy contains the tailpiece in its second state, after
 Bewick's friends had advised him to engrave two bars of
 wood across the objectionable portion. Rev. Samuel
 Prince's copy sold for £6. 10s. Sotheby's, Dec. 1865.
- 108 Bewick. Figures of British Land Birds, Vol. 1, all pub-
 lished (?) to which is added a few Foreign Birds with
 the vignettes
fine copy in green morocco, g.e. by Zaehnsdorf
S. Hodgson, Newcastle, 1800
- * * * The tailpiece on last page is supplied by an original
 drawing on VELLUM, said to be by Bewick (?) J. T.
 Brockett's Copy sold for £3. 5s. Sotheby's, Dec. 1823.
- 109 Bewick's British Land Birds and British Water Birds,
 engraved on wood by Thomas Bewick, the figures
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half morocco, uncut, the two vols. in one
4to. E. Walker, Newcastle, 1825
- * * Only 100 copies printed. "What adds to the value of
 4to. copies of Bewick's works, is the fact that no more

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- 110 Bewick. ANOTHER COPY, QUARTO, very fine impressions of the wood engravings
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- 111 Bewick's British Birds, 2 vol. *imperfect*
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- 112 Bewick's (T.) British Birds, 2 vol.
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Works and Memoir of Bewick Newcastle, 1820
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* * Bewick's name appears in the list of Subscribers.

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- 165 Bloomfield. Second edition 8vo. *ib.* 1800
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- 167 Bloomfield. Third edition 8vo. *ib.* 1800
- * * With this copy is bound up Poems by T. Townshend, Esq., of Grays' Inn, 1796, plates by Stothard; and Poems by Anne Bannerman, *Edin.* 1800
- 168 Bloomfield. The Fourth edition, 8vo. *Vernor & Hood*, 1801; with this is bound up Rural Tales, 1802, *calf neat*
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- 175 Bloomfield. Remains of Bloomfield (Robert), "published for the exclusive benefit of the family of Mr. Bloomfield," *with music*, 2 vol. in 1, *Baldwin, Cradock and Joy*, 1824—May Day with the Muses, 1822, *uncut*—Banks of the Wye, *uncut*, Second edition, 1813—Wild Flowers, 1806
(5 vol. in 4)
- 176 Bohn's (James) Catalogue, with Cuts by Bewick, thick 8vo. 1840—British Galleries by Westmacott, Vignettes, 8vo. 1824—Fry's Specimen Book of Types and Stereos from Cuts, &c., *half morocco* 8vo. 1827
- 177 Buffon's System of Natural History, 4 vol. *not uniformly bound, with an extra Vol. 3 impft.* and Vol. 4 bound up with Vol. 1, *Alnwick*, 1814, with The Abridgement in Seven Parts, *Alnwick*, 1809
(11)
- 178 Buffon's System of Natural History, in four vol., cuts and numerous tailpieces, &c. by Bewick
calf neat 12mo. *W. Davison, Alnwick*, 1814
- 179 Buffon. Another set of four vol. *uncut, rare in this state*
W. Davison, 1814
- 180 Buffon. An Abridgment of the above, Seven Parts, Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, Butterflies, &c., in one vol., *half calf neat*, and a set in the original wrappers
Alnwick, n. d. (8 vol.)
- 181 Buffon. Another Copy, *half blue morocco, t. e. g.*, and a set in the illustrated wrappers *Alnwick, n. d.* (8 vol.)
- 182 Buffon. Another Copy, *half calf, yellow edges*, and a set in wrappers 8 vol. *W. Davison, Alnwick, n. d.*

- 183 Buffon. A Natural History of British Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Insects, embellished with 247 Engravings on wood by Thomas Bewick of Newcastle, 1809, *half morocco, g. e.*; and a set of the Natural History in wrappers *Alnwick, 1809*
- 184 Buffon. Another Copy and set
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- 185 Buffon. Another Copy and two sets
Apollo Press, Alnwick, 1809 (15 vol.)
- 186 Buffon. Another Copy, *half green morocco, t. e. g. tall copy*, and two sets *Alnwick, 1809 (15 vol.)*
- 187 Bunyan (John) The Heavenly Footman, *J. Hollis, Shoemaker Row*—Pilgrim's Progress, Clennell's cuts, 12mo. 1811—Divine Emblems for the use of Boys and Girls, 1770—Pilgrim's Progress, *Wilson and Spence, York*, 1799—Another edition, *Glasgow*, 1814—Another edition, *imptf. York, Glasgow, &c. v. y. (6 vol.)*
- 188 Burns' (Robert) Poems
half calf, t. e. g. Alnwick, 1808 (2 vol.)
- 189 Burns' Poetical Works, Vol. 1, *boards, uncut*; Vol. 2, *calf gilt*, pretty vignettes *Davison, Alnwick, 1808*
- 190 Burns (R.) Another Copy
LARGE PAPER, uncut Alnwick, 1811 (2 vol.)
- 191 Burns (R.) Another Copy
half green morocco Alnwick, 1808
- * * Bought at Sotheby's for 25s.
- 192 Bust of Thomas Bewick, by E. H. Baily, Esq., R.A. *rare and exceedingly characteristic.* Only a few of these busts (about 12) were prepared by the eminent sculptor who is now no more, and of these several were broken in their transit to Newcastle from London. The one in white marble, in the "Lit. & Phil." Soc. Mus., Newcastle, cost 100 gs. See a description of it in Atkinson's Sketch of Bewick. Baily executed the statue of Nelson in Trafalgar Square, and many other National Monuments.
- * * Emerson Charnley was a Subscriber to the marble bust, and I have reason to believe this was specially finished for him by Baily. An interesting account and description of this bust is given in the following lot.—E.P.
- 193 Bust. Atkinson's (Clayton) Memoir of Thomas Bewick, with the Portrait from Baily's Bust
very scarce, in portfolio 4to. New castle, 131

- 194 Bewick. A Figure of Thomas Bewick, seated, published by J. Brucciani, Bell's Court, Newcastle, Sept. 1st, 1831.
- 195 Chap Books and Toy Books, early Cuts by Bewick :—Toby Tickle, Gammer Gurton, Tommy Thumb, Nurse Dandle, Life of Jesus Christ, Gulliver, Holiday Entertainment, Cottage Tales, Fun upon Fun, Picture Alphabet, &c., in one thick vol.
half roxburgh 24mo. *Lumsden, Glasgow, 1814-5*
- * * A precisely similar copy sold for £2. at Sotheby's, Jan. 26th, 1866.
- 196 Chap Books, *York*, thick vol. containing Cries of York, —Cries of London—Mother Hubbard, 2 parts—World turned upside down—Fables—Silver Penny—Golden Present—Foundling—Red Riding Hood, Tom Thumb's folio—Puss in Boots, and many others
half calf, uncut, fine states 24mo. *York, n.d.*
- 197 Chap Books and Garlands—Jack and the Giants, 2 parts, *Angus, Newcastle*—Valentine and Orson—Marquis of Salus and Prince Grissel—Emperor Manalay and the Chaste Empress—Thomas Hackathrift (2nd part)—King and Cobler (2 parts) and many others
uncut 3 vol. *Angus and Marshall, Newcastle, n.d.*
- 198 Chap Books and Toy Books, Mrs. Winlove, *Edin.*, 1819 :
 Pretty Hymns for Pretty Children, Pretty Golden Toy, Old Puzzlewit, Sir Gregory Guess, Lovechild's Legacy, Jack Sprat, Mother Goose, Waggon Load of Gold, Wild Boar of the Wood, and many others, in 3 vol.
half roxburgh 24mo. *Evans, Lumsden, 1800-14*
- 199 Chap Books and Toy Books :—Waggon Load of Gold, House that Jack built, Watts' Divine Songs, King Pippin, Simple Simon, Pretty Picture Alphabet, Old Dame Trot, Jackey Dandy's Delight, Tragical Death, Apple Pie, Tales for Children, Golden Pippin, Jenny Wren, Goody two Shoes, Mother Bunch, Fisherman, Sisters, Fairy Tales, British Primer, King and Fairy Ring, and many others
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Harris, Newbury, York, Glasgow, v. y.
- 203 Charms of Literature. Twenty engravings on wood, by Bewick, 2 vol. *choice copy, uncut*
 12mo. *J. Mitchell, Newcastle, 1817*
- 204 CHILLINGHAM WILD BULL, engraved by Thos. Bewick, Cut $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$, *original impression, in its rare state with the original border, handsomely mounted and framed.* The Cut of the Wild Bull in Richardson's Table Book, Vol. 6, page 15, has been printed without letter-press on India paper, Vellum, &c. and exhibited as the genuine engraving, but a moment's comparison will dispel the delusion. A similar framed copy sold for £8. 8s. at Puttick and Simpson's, Friday, Dec. 7th, 1866. *See Bewick Collector, p. 430.*
Newcastle, 1789
- * * A very choice lot, *see Bell, p. 18.*
- 205 Choice Emblems, First edition
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- 206 Choice Emblems, First edition *MS. title, 1772*—Riley's Emblems, Fourth edition, *E. Newbery, 1781*—Choice Emblems, Fifth edition, *E. Newbery, 1784* (3)
- 207 Choice Emblems, Fifth edition, *E. Newbery, 1784*—Riley's Emblems, Third edition, *E. Newbery, 1779*—Choice Emblems, Seventh edition, *E. Newbery, 1793* (3)
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- 209 Choice Emblems, Seventh edition, *E. Newbery, J. Chapman,*
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- 210 Charnley's (Emerson) Catalogues, in 1 vol.
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- * * * Contains several of T. Bewick's choice Cuts: The Turkey, Domestic Cock, &c., rich in particulars of his Works, Newcastle Reprints, &c.
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- 213 Companion to the Altar, Four editions, showing the variations in J. Bewick's woodcut front, signed; one copy, with fine border on title by J. Bewick *n. d. (4)*
- 214 Conduct of Man to Inferior Animals, vignette signed T. Bewick, *Manchester*, 1797—Hutchinson's (J.) Sockburn Short Horns, *Stockton*, 1822—Mrs. Pilkington's Historical Beauties, *title torn*, 1798—Family at Smiledale, *Glasgow*, 1819 *v. y. (5 vol.)*
- 215 Cousett's (Matthew) A Tour through Sweden, Swedish Lapland, Finland and Denmark, with large *Copper-Plate* Engravings by Thomas Bewick, of The Midnight Sun, with portraits of Sir H. G. Liddel, Bart. and his Companions in Lapland (in the foreground), Portraits of Sighre and Anied (from life), two women from Lapland, The Reindeer, Lapland Birds, Kader, Snoripa and Orre, View of Upsal, with Sir H. G. Liddel's Carriage (in foreground); the only woodcut in the vol. is the Lapland Sledge, a reduced copy of which appears in the British Quadrupeds
- CHOICE COPY OF THIS RARE BEWICK VOLUME
half calf gilt 4to. Stockton, 1789
- * * * The Copper-plate of the Reindeer is one of the most beautiful that Bewick ever engraved: the animal was drawn from life, and the whole of the background was designed on the plate by Thos. Bewick, and is a curious and beautiful specimen (if the expression may be allowed) of wood engraving on copper.
- An interesting notice of Consett's Tour will be found in Fox's "Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum," 1827, pp. 289, 292.

- 216 Consett. Another Copy, *uncut* 4to. London, 1789
 217 Consett. Another Copy, *uncut* 4to. Stockton, 1789

* * This book is extremely rare. I could not find one copy in *Stockton-on-Tees* when there in January 1866.—E. P.

- 218 Consett. Another Copy, *the Heber Copy*
calf neat 4to. Stockton, 1789

* * I purchased this identical copy for £1. 1s. at Sotheby's in 1867. Copies of the book have lately been sold for £2. 10s. to £3 3s.—E. P. Emerson Charnley, in his Newcastle Catalogue for 1816, prices it 14s. with the following note :—"This work may now be considered as a curiosity, being one of the very few publications which contain any of Mr. Bewick's engravings on copper." In 1823, E. Charnley prices it £1. 1s.; and in 1845, Wm. Garret prices the engravings *alone* at 19s. 6d.

- 219 Consett. Another Copy, *uncut* 4to. London, 1789

- 220 Consett. Another Copy
half green morocco neat 4to. Stockton, 1789

- 221 Consett. The SECOND EDITION, containing *only* the large woodcut of Lapland Sledge as a frontispiece, by T. Bewick *small 8vo.* Stockton, 1815

- 222 Cook's Voyages round the World, 4 vol. in 2, curious, as containing numerous Copper-plate Engravings signed "Beilby and Bewick," *very rare and curious*
calf neat *thick 8vo.* Newcastle, 1790

- 223 Cowper's (Wm.) Poems, 2 vol., head and tailpieces by Bewick's Pupils, Nesbit, Clennell and Branston
uncut 8vo. 1808

* * Some of the cuts are said to be by Bewick (?)

- 224 Cynthio and Leonora, by George Marshall, impressions of the Cuts on India paper by T. Bewick and Pupils
Preston and Heaton, Newcastle, 1812

* * T. Bewick's name appears in the List of Subscribers.

- 225 Davison, Alnwick. India proofs of the Cuts of British Birds engraved for Davison by T. Bewick, neatly mounted in small 4to. vol., *half morocco, gaufered g. e.*

* * Only seven sets were taken off on India paper, and of these one was lately sold for seven guineas.—*Bewick Collector*, p. 291.

- 226 Davison, Alnwick. Wood Engravings of Land and Water Birds, by Thomas Bewick, never before published (separate from the letter-press), *half calf neat, t. e. g.*
4to. J. J. Lynch, Mosley Street, Newcastle, n. d.

* * Only 60 copies printed, with Portrait of T. Bewick without letter-press.

- 227 Davison. Another Copy, with Portrait *ib.*
228 Davison. Another Copy *ib.*
229 Davison. Another Copy *ib.*
230 Davison. Wood Engravings of Land and Water Birds, by Thos. Bewick, the same book as above with a different title, still *inclusive* of the 60 copies, without letter-press
4to. J. J. Lynch, Newcastle, 1860
231 Davison. Two Copies
232 Davison. Two Copies
233 Davison. Two Copies
234 Davison. Three Copies, *unbound and uncut*
235 Davison. Three Copies *ib.*
236 Davison. Three Copies *ib.*
237 Davison. Three Copies *ib.*
238 Davison. Four Copies *ib.*
239 Dodd's (W.) Beauties of History, Second edition, but the first edition in which Bewick's Cuts were used, *Vernor and Hood*, 1796—Hargrove's Knaresbrough, York, 1798 (2)
240 Dodd. Another Copy, *E. Newbery*, 1796—Scenes of Youth, 1803—Hermit of Warkworth, &c. *North Shields*, 1790
North Shields, London, v. y.
241 Dodd. Another Copy, *calf neat, clean and tall copy*
Vernor & Hood, Newbery, &c. 1796
242 Dodd. Another edition. Third edition illustrated by a different series of Cuts to the preceding edition, and containing several Cuts not in the following edition, see "Waiting for Death," p. 119
Vernor & Hood, 1800
243 Dodd's (W.) Beauties of History, Fourth edition, 1803—Sixth edition, 1810—Seventh edition, 1818 (3)
Vernor & Hood, Newbery, Longman, &c. v. d.
244 Donaldson's (Thomas) Poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, 12mo. boards, *uncut*, Alnwick, 1809—Ferguson's Poems, 2 vol. Alnwick, 1814 (3)

- 245 Donaldson. Another set, precisely like the preceding
W. Davison, Alnwick, 1809-14
- 246 Drawing (original) on Vellum, by T. Bewick (?) in mount;
 Ten Fable Cuts, on White Satin, in two mounts; and
 Painting of Lion, in gilt frame (4)
- 247 Ducks and Green Peas, 1827—Garlands, 1800—North
 Minstrel, 3 parts, 1811—Donaldson's (the Glanton
 Weaver) Poems, 1809—Robert Ferguson's Poems,
 2 vol. 1814—Thomas Adams' Poems, 1811
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- 248 Durham. Cooke's Topographical Description of the County
 of Durham, with Bewick's large cuts of the Durham
 Ox and Mr. Mason's Cow, Winch Bridge, &c.
half roxburgh n. d.
- 249 Economy of Human Life, *half roxburgh, Little Britain, n. d.*
 —Bower's History of Ireland, cuts, *Edin. 1819—*
Pieces on Love and Marriage, Manchester, 1797
- 250 Effusions of Love from Chatelar to Mary, Queen of Scot-
 land, by Ireland, *rare (see Lowndes)*
half roxburgh 12mo. G. Chapple, 1805
- 251 Emblems of Mortality, *exceedingly tall copy, uncut*
London, T. Hodgson, 1789
- * * A similar copy was privately sold lately for £5. 5s. The
 blocks were destroyed by fire.—E. P.
- 252 Emblems of Mortality, representing, in upwards of 50 cuts,
 Death seizing all ranks of People
T. Hodgson, Clerkenwell, 1789
- * * Very rare, as the blocks were destroyed by fire soon after
 its publication. T. Tompson's copy sold for £1. 18s.
 Sotheby's, Jan. 26, 1866.
- 253 Emblems. Another Copy, formerly Thomas Bell's copy,
 with his book-plate by Bewick
half calf neat T. Hodgson, Clerkenwell, 1789
- * * J. T. Brockett's copy sold for £1. 14s. Sotheby's, Dec.
 1823.
- 254 Emblems. Another Copy, *uncut ib. ib.*
- * * The cuts are by T. and J. Bewick. The tallest copy I
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- 255 Emblems. Dance of Death, a different series of 52 cuts
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Doings, R. Dagley, Second edition, 8vo. 1827, wants
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 * * Has T. Bewick's name as a Subscriber.
- 257 Fabliaux, or Tales, by M. Le Grand, G. L. Way, &c., beautiful wood engravings by John Bewick (among his last efforts), 3 vol. *uncut* 8vo. *J. Rodwell*, 1815
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- 260 Fabulous Histories, or the History of the Robins, by Mrs. Trimmer, Tenth edition, 1815, 2 vol. in 1, (12mo. and 18mo.) THICK PAPER, *T. Bensley for Whittingham, calf neat*—Twelfth edition, 1818, 12mo. LARGE PAPER, *uncut*, *N. Hailes*—Thirteenth edition, 18mo. *uncut*, 1831—Another Copy of this edition (13th), 12mo. LARGE PAPER, *half roxburgh*, "with woodcuts by Bewick"; the others have not got this printed in the title, and the date is different to the other 13th edition, (18mo.) being *N. Hailes*, 1821 *v. y.* (4)
- 261 Falconer's Shipwreck, 8vo. *calf tooled*, 1808—Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, 8vo. 1810, *mottled calf, tooled* 1808-10
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- 270 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
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- 273 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
- 274 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
- 275 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
- 276 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
- 277 Fisher. Another Copy *ib. ib.*
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- 284 FOX'S NEWCASTLE MUSEUM. Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum, late THE ALLAN, formerly THE TUNSTALL or WYCLIFFE MUSEUM, to which are prefixed Memoirs of Mr. Tunstall, the Founder, and of Mr. Allan, the late Proprietor of the Collection; with occasional remarks on the Species by those Gentlemen and the Editor, by George Townshend Fox, Esq., F.L.S. *beautifully printed on ribbed paper, fine plates, woodcuts, &c., half calf gilt Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1827*

* * This valuable local work contains numerous Letters

between Bewick and his Friends—constant mention is made of his name throughout the work in connection with the Birds, &c. in the Museum. Several of the beautiful Wood Engravings are by him, also two large Engravings by his son, R. E. Bewick, whose productions are very rare. This Work also contains a complete list of the various editions of Bewick's British Birds, Consett's Tour, the Chillingham Wild Bull, and other valuable information connected with Bewick, Newcastle, Natural History, Antiquities, &c. No Bewick Collector should be without this valuable and interesting work, which forms an appropriate companion to Bewick's Birds. A copy is priced £1. 8s. and another £3. 3s. in Beets' Catalogues, in 1867-8. I purchased the remaining copies, all I could find in the North; they are very rare when in a *perfect* condition like the present copies.

285	Fox.	Another Copy, <i>boards, uncut</i>	<i>Newcastle, 1827</i>
286	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
287	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
288	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
289	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
290	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
291	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
292	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>
293	Fox.	Another Copy <i>ib.</i>	<i>ib.</i>

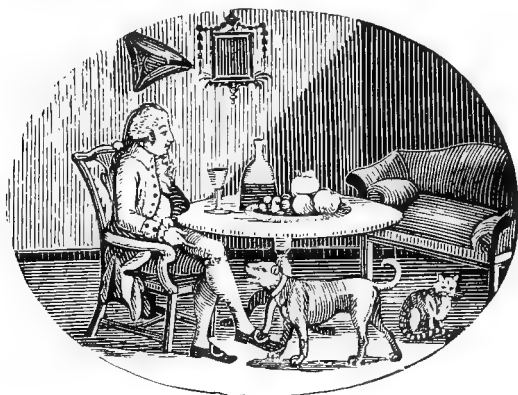


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 Juvenile Tourist 1809

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- 306*Gay. Another Copy, Third edition 1729
 * * Much admired by Bewick.
- 307 Garrett (William). MSS. Volume, Newspaper Extracts, &c., Eminent Men of Newcastle and Northumberland; interesting to the Bewick Collector.
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- 309 Goldsmith and Parnell's Poems *calf neat, g. e.* 8vo. W. Bulmer, 1804
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- 310 Goldsmith and Parnell's Poems *russia neat* 4to. Shakespeare Printing Office, 1795
- 311 Goldsmith and Parnell's Poems *calf neat, elegantly tooled* 4to. W. Bulmer, 1795
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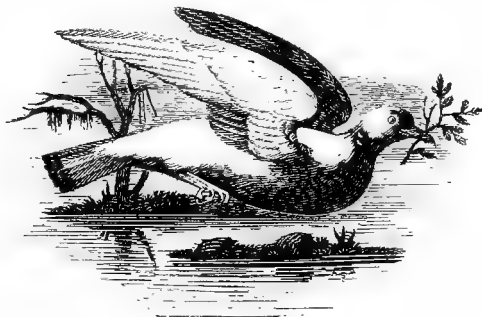
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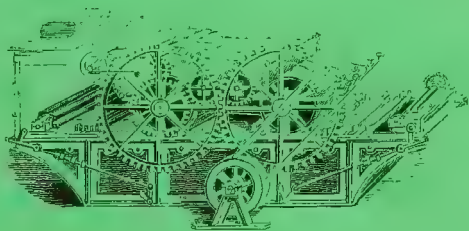
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THE PRINTER'S DEVIL.

BY SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, BART.

‘*AND noo, ma freends,*’—some fifty years ago, said an old Highland preacher, suddenly lowering a voice which for nearly an hour had been giving fervid utterance to a series of supplications for the welfare, temporal as well as spiritual, of his flock—‘*And noo, ma freends,*’—the good man repeated, as, wiping his bedewed brow, he looked down upon a congregation who with outstretched chins sat listening in respectful astonishment to this new proof that their pastor’s subject, unlike his body, was still unexhausted; ‘*And noo, ma freends,*’—he once more exclaimed, with a look of parental benevolence it would be utterly impossible to describe—‘*Let us praigh for the puir Deil! There’s naebody praighs for the puir Deil!*’

To our literary congregation we beg leave to repeat very nearly the same two exclamations; for, deeply as we all stand indebted to the British press, it may truly be said ‘There’s naebody thinks of its puir deils,’ nor of the many kindred spirits, ‘black, white, and grey,’ who, above ground as well as below, inhabit the great printing-houses of the land we live in. We shall, therefore, at once proceed to one of these establishments, and by our sovereign power summon its motley inmates before us, that they may rapidly glide before our readers in *review*.

In a raw December morning, just before the gas-lights are extinguished, and just before sunrise, the streets of London form a twilight picture which it is interesting to contemplate,

inasmuch as there exists perhaps no moment in the twenty-four hours in which they present a more guiltless aspect; for at this hour luxury has retired to such rest as belongs to it—vice has not yet risen. Although the rows of houses are still in shade, and although their stacks of chimneys appear fantastically delineated upon the grey sky, yet the picture, *chiaro-oscuro*, is not altogether without its lights. The wet streets, in whatever direction they radiate, shine almost as brightly as the gilt printing over the barred shops. At the corners of the streets, the gin-palaces, as they are passed, appear splendidly illuminated with gas, showing an elevated row of lettered and numbered yellow casks, which in daylight stand on their ends unnoticed. The fashionable streets are all completely deserted, save by a solitary policeman, who, distinguished by his warm great-coat and shining belt, is seen standing at a crossing drinking the cup of hot salop or coffee he has just purchased of an old barrow-woman, who, with her smoking kettle, is quietly seated at his side, while the cab and hackney-coach horses, with their heads drooping, appear as motionless as the brass charger at Charing-Cross.

An Irish labourer with an empty hod over his shoulder, a man carrying a saw, a tradesman with his white apron tucked up for walking, a few men, 'far and wide between,' in fustian jackets, with their hands in their pockets to keep them warm, are the only perceptible atoms of an enormous mass of a million and a half of people—all the rest being as completely buried from view as if they were lying in their graves.

But as our vehicle proceeds, every minute imparts life to the scene, until, by the time Blackfriars-bridge is crossed, the light of day illumines the figures of hundreds of workmen, who, unconnected with each other, are, in various directions, steadily proceeding to their tasks.

Among them, from their dress, gait, and general appearance, it is not difficult here and there to distinguish that several are printers; and as we have now reached the gate of one of the principal buildings to which they are marching, we must alight from our 'cab,' that we may by a slight sketch delineate its interior for our readers.

The printing establishment of Messrs. Clowes, on the Surrey side of the Thames, (for they have a branch office at Charing-Cross,) is situated between Blackfriars and Waterloo bridges. Their buildings extend in length from Princes-street to Duke-street, and in breadth about half the distance. The entrance is by rather a steep declivity into a little low court, on arriving at which, the counting-houses are close on the left; the great steam-presses, the type-foundry and stereotype-foundry, and paper-warehouse, on the right; and the apartments for compositors, *readers*, &c., in front.

In the last-mentioned building there are five compositors' halls, the largest of which (on two levels, the upper being termed by the workmen 'the quarter-deck') is two hundred feet in length. The door is nearly in the centre, and, on entering this apartment at daybreak, the stranger sees at a *coup d'œil* before him, on his right and left, sixty compositors' frames, which, though much larger, are about the height of the music-stands in an orchestra. At this early hour they are all deserted, their daily tenants not having arrived. Not a sound is to be heard save the slow ticking of a gaudy-faced wooden clock, the property of the workmen, which faithfully tells when they are entitled to refreshment, and which finally announces to them the joyful intelligence that the hour of their emancipation has arrived. On the long wall opposite to the range of windows hang the printed regulations of a subscription fund, to which every man contributes 2*d.*, and every boy 1*d.* per week, explain-

ing how much each is entitled to receive in the sad hour of sickness, with the consoling intelligence that 5*l.* is allowed to bury him if he be a man, and 2*l.* 10*s.* if merely a boy. Along the whole length of the building, about a foot above the floor, there is a cast-iron pipe heated by steam, extending through the establishment upwards of three-quarters of a mile, the genial effect of which modestly speaks for itself.

On the right hand, touching each frame, stands a small low table, about two feet square. A hasty traveller would probably pronounce that all these frames were alike, yet a few minutes' attentive observation not only dispels the error, but by numerous decipherable hieroglyphics explains to a certain extent the general occupation of the owners, as well as the particular character of each.

For instance, the height of the frames at once declares that the compositors perform their work standing, while the pair of easy slippers which are underneath each stand suggest that the occupation must be severely felt by the feet. The working jacket or the apron, which lies exactly as it was cast aside the evening before, shows that freedom in the arms is a requisite to the craft. The good workman is known by the regularity with which his *copy* hangs neatly folded in the little wooden recess at his side—the slovenly compositor is detected by having left his MS. on his type, liable to be blown from the case—while the apprentice, like the ‘carpenter known by his chips,’ is discovered by the quantity of type which lies scattered on the floor on which he stood.

The relative stature of the workmen can also be not inaccurately determined by the different heights of their frames. The roomy stools which some have purchased (and which are their private property, for be it known that the establishment neither furnishes nor approves of such luxuries) are

not without their silent moral; those with a large circumference, as well as those of a much smaller size, denoting the diameter of a certain recumbent body, while the stuffed stool tells its own tale. The pictures, the songs, the tracts, the caricatures, which each man, according to his fancy, has pasted against the small compartment of whitewashed wall which bounds his tiny dominions, indicate the colour of his leading propensity. One man is evidently the possessor of a serious mind, another is a follower of the fine arts. A picture of the Duke of Wellington denotes that another is an admirer of stern moral probity and high military honour; while a rosy-faced Hebe, in a very low evening gown, laughingly confesses for its owner that which we need not trouble ourselves to expound. In the midst of these studies the attention of the solitary stranger is aroused by the appearance of two or three little boys, dressed in fustian jackets and paper caps, who in the grey of the morning enter the hall with a broom and water. These are young aspiring devils, who, until they have regularly received their commissions, are employed in cleaning the halls previous to the arrival of the compositors. Besides ventilating the room by opening the windows in the roof, beginning at one extremity, they sweep under each frame, watering the floor as they proceed, until they at last collect at the opposite end of the hall a heap of literary rubbish; but even this is worthy of attention, for, on being sifted through an iron sieve, it is invariably found to contain a quantity of type of all sizes, which more or less has been scattered right and left by the different compositors. To attempt to restore these to the respective families from which they have emigrated would be a work of considerable trouble; they are therefore thrown into a dark receptacle or grave, where they patiently remain until they are remelted, recast into type, and thus once again

appear in the case of the compositor. By this curious transmigration Roman letters sometimes reappear on earth in the character of italics—the lazy *z* finds itself converted into the ubiquitous *e*, the full stop becomes perhaps a comma, while the hunchbacked mark of interrogation stands triumphantly erect—a note of admiration to the world!

By the time the halls are swept some of the compositors drop in. The steadiest generally make their appearance first; and on reaching their frames their first operation is leisurely to take off and fold up their coats, tuck up their shirt-sleeves, put on their brown holland aprons, exchange their heavy walking shoes for the light brown easy slippers, and then unfolding their copy they at once proceed to work.

By eight o'clock the whole body have arrived. Many in their costume resemble common labourers, others are better clad, several are very well dressed, but all bear in their countenances the appearance of men of considerable intelligence and education. They have scarcely assumed their respective stations, when blue mugs, containing each a pint or half-a-pint of tea or coffee, and attended either by a smoking hot roll stuffed with yellow butter, or by a couple of slices of bread and butter, enter the hall. The little girls, who with well combed hair and clean shining faces bring these refreshments, carry them to those who have not breakfasted at home. Before the empty mugs have vanished, a boy enters the hall at a fast walk with a large bundle under his arm—of morning newspapers: this intellectual luxury the compositors, by a friendly subscription, allow themselves to enjoy. From their connexion with the different presses, they manage to obtain the very earliest copies, and thus the news of the day is known to them—the leading articles of the different papers are criticised, applauded, or condemned—an hour or two before the great statesmen of the country have received the observations, the castigation, or the intelli-

gence they contain. One would think that composers would be as sick of reading as a grocer's boy is of treacle ; but that this is not the case is proved by the fact, that they not only willingly pay for these newspapers, but often indemnify one of their own community for giving up his time in order to sit in the middle of the hall on a high stool and read the news aloud to them while they are labouring at their work : they will, moreover, even pay him to read to them any new book which they consider to contain interesting information ! It of course requires very great command of the mind to be able to give attention to what is read from one book, while men are intently employed in the creation of another. The apprentices and inferior workmen cannot attempt to do this, but the greater number, astonishing as it may sound, can listen without injury to their avocation. Very shortly after eight o'clock the whole body are at their work, at which, it may be observed, they patiently continue, with only an hour's interval, until eight o'clock at night.

It is impossible to contemplate a team of sixty literary labourers steadily working together in one room, without immediately acknowledging the important service they are rendering to the civilized world, and the respect which, therefore, is due to them from society. The minutiae of their art it might be deemed tedious to detail ; yet with so many operators in view it is not difficult, even for an inexperienced visitor, to distinguish the different degrees of perfection at which they have individually arrived.

Among composers, as in all other professions, the race is not always gained by him who is apparently the swiftest. Steadiness, coolness, and attention are more valuable qualifications than eagerness and haste ; and, accordingly, those composers who at first sight appear to be doing the most, are often, after all, less serviceable to themselves, and, conse-

quently, to their employers, than those who, with less display, follow the old adage of 'slow and sure.'

On the attitude of a compositor his work principally depends. The operation being performed by the eyes, fingers, and arms, which, with considerable velocity, are moved in almost every direction, the rest of the body should be kept as tranquil as possible. However zealous, therefore, a workman may be, if his shoulders and hips are seen to be moved by every little letter he lifts, fatigue, exhaustion, and errors are the result; whereas, if the arms alone appear in motion, the work is more easily, and consequently more successfully executed. The principle of Hamlet's advice to the players may be offered to compositors:—

'Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you. Do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently. Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the *action* to the *word*, the *word* to the *action*.'

Before a compositor can proceed with his *copy*, his first business must evidently be to fill his 'cases,' which contain about 100 pounds weight of type, of nine sorts, viz., 1. capitals; 2. small capitals; 3. Roman letters (for italics separate cases are used); 4. figures; 5. points and references; 6. spaces; 7. em and en quadrats, or the larger spaces; 8. double, treble, and quadruple quadrats; 9. accents. There are two 'cases;' the upper of which is divided into 98 equal compartments; the lower into 53 divisions, adapted in size to the number of letters they are to contain.

In the English language the letter *e* inhabits the largest box; *a, c, d, h, i, m, n, o, r, s, t, u* live in the next-sized apartments; *b, f, g, k, l, p, v, w, y* dwell in what may be termed the bed-rooms, while *j, q, x, z, æ* and *œ*, double letters, &c., are more humbly lodged in the cupboards, garrets, and cellars. And the reason of this arrangement is, that the letter *e* being visited by the compositor sixty times as often

as *z* (for his hand spends an hour in the former box for every minute in the latter), it is evidently advisable that the letters oftenest required should be the nearest. Latin and French books devour more of *c, i, l, m, p, q, s, u*, and *v* than English ones, and for these languages the ‘cases’ must therefore be arranged accordingly.

The usual way of filling cases with letters is by distributing the type pages of books which have been printed off. Although the ideas or words of one author would not, especially in his own opinion, at all suit those of his brother writer—(for instance, suppose the type pages of ‘The Diary of the Times of George IV.’ were distributed to set up ‘The Bishop of Exeter’s Charge to his Clergy’)—yet the letters which compose them are found in practice to bear to each other exactly the same proportion. The most profligate pages are, therefore, quite as acceptable to the compositor who is about to print a sermon, as a volume on cookery, or even on divinity; and thus, in death, books, like their authors, are all democratically equal.

The distributing of the letters from the type pages into the square dens to which they respectively belong is performed with astonishing celerity. If the type were jumbled, or, as it is technically termed, ‘in pie,’ the time requisite for recognising the tiny countenance of each letter would be enormous; but the compositor, being enabled to grasp and read one or two sentences at a time, without again looking at the letters, drops them one by one, here, there, and everywhere, according to their destination. It is calculated that a good compositor can distribute 4000 letters per hour, which is about five times as many as he can compose; just as in common life all men can spend money at least twenty times as readily as they can earn it.

As soon as the workman has filled his cases, his next Sisyphus labour is by composition to exhaust them. Glancing

occasionally at his copy before him, he consecutively picks up, with a zigzag movement, and with almost the velocity of lightning, the letters he requires. In arranging these types in the 'stick,' or little frame, which he holds in his left hand, he must of course place them with their heads or letter-ends uppermost: besides which they must, like soldiers, be made all to march the same way; for otherwise one letter in the page would be 'eyes right,' one 'eyes left,' another 'eyes front,' while another would be looking to the rear. This insubordination would produce, not only confusion, but positive errors, for *p* would pass for *d*, *n* for *u*, *q* for *b*, &c. To avoid this, the types are all purposely cast with a 'nick' on one of their sides, by which simple arrangement they are easily recognised, and made to fall into their places the right way; and compositors as regularly place the nicks of their type all outermost, as ladies and gentlemen scientifically seat themselves at dinner, with their nicks (we mean their mouths) all facing the dishes. In short, a guest sitting with his back to his plate is not, in the opinion of a compositor, a greater breach of decorum than for a letter to face the wrong way. The composing-stick contains the same sort of relative proportion to a page as a paragraph. It holds a certain measure of type, and as soon as it is filled, the paragraph, or fragment of paragraph, it contains, is transplanted into the page to which it belongs. This process is repeated until the pages composing a sheet, being completed, are firmly fixed by wooden quoins or wedges into an iron frame called a 'chase,' which then assumes the name of a 'form;' and after having thus been properly prepared for the proof-press, a single copy is 'pulled off,' and the business of correction then begins.

As the compositor receives nothing for curing his own mistakes, they form the self-correcting punishment of his offence. The operation is the most disagreeable, and, by pressure on the chest incurred in leaning over the form, it is

also the most unhealthy part of his occupation. 'A sharp bodkin and patience' are said by the craft to be the only two instruments which are required for correction: by the former a single letter can be abstracted and exchanged; by the latter, if a word has been improperly omitted or repeated, the type in the neighbourhood of the error can be expanded or contracted (technically termed 'driven out,' or 'got in') until the adjustment be effected. But the compositor's own errors are scarcely put to rights before a much greater difficulty arrives, namely, the *author's* corrections, for which the compositors are very properly paid 6*d.* an hour.

It can easily be believed that it is as difficult for a compositor to produce a correct copy of his MS., as it is for a tailor to make clothes to fit the person he has measured; but the simile must stop here, for what would be the exclamations of Mr. Stultze, or Madame Maradan Carson, if they were to be informed that the gentleman or the lady whom they had but a few days ago measured, had, while their clothes were a-making, completely altered in shape, form, and dimensions? That, for instance, the gentleman had lost his calves—had 'an increasing belly, and a decreasing leg'—that, from being a dwarf, he had swelled into a giant—or that his arms had become shorter—and that his frame had shrivelled into half its bulk: that, again, Miladi's waist had suddenly expanded—that her 'bustle' had materially increased, while her lovely daughter, who but a week ago was measured as a mop-stick, had all at once what is usually termed 'come out.'

Now, ridiculous as all these changes may sound, they are—to say nothing of the heart-ache caused by 'bad copy,' in which, besides being almost illegible, the author himself evidently does not know what he means to say—no more than those with which compositors are constantly afflicted. Few men can dare to print their sentiments as they write them. Not only must the frame-work of their composition

be altered, but a series of minute posthumous additions and subtractions are ordered, which it is almost impossible to effect; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that it would be a shorter operation for the compositor to set up the types afresh, than to disturb his work piecemeal, by the quantity of codicils and alterations which a vain, vacillating, crotchety writer has required.

A glance at the different attitudes of the sixty compositors working before us is sufficient to explain even to a stranger whether they are composing, distributing, correcting, or *imposing*; which latter occupation is the fixing corrected pages into the iron frames, or 'forms,' in which they eventually go to press. But our reader has probably remained long enough in the long hall, and we will therefore introduce him to the very small cells of the *readers*.

In a printing establishment 'the reader' is almost the only individual whose occupation is sedentary; indeed, the galley-slave can scarcely be more closely bound to his oar than is a reader to his stool. On entering his cell, his very attitude is a striking and most graphic picture of earnest attention. It is evident, from his outline, that the whole power of his mind is concentrated in a focus upon the page before him; and as in midnight the lamps of the mail, which illuminate a small portion of the road, seem to increase the pitchy darkness which in every other direction prevails, so does the undivided attention of a reader to his subject evidently abstract his thoughts from all other considerations. An urchin stands by reading to *the reader* from *the copy*—furnishing him, in fact, with an additional pair of eyes; and the shortest way to attract his immediate notice is to stop his boy: for no sooner does the stream of the child's voice cease to flow than the machinery of the man's mind ceases to work;—something has evidently gone wrong!—he accordingly at once raises his weary head, and a slight sigh,

with one passage of the hand across his brow, is generally sufficient to enable him to receive the intruder with mildness and attention.

Although the general interests of literature as well as the character of the art of printing depend on the grammatical accuracy and typographical correctness of 'the reader,' yet from the cold-hearted public he receives punishment, but no reward. The slightest oversight is declared to be an error; while, on the other hand, if by his unremitting application no fault can be detected, he has nothing to expect from mankind but to escape and live uncensured. Poor Goldsmith lurked a reader in Samuel Richardson's office for many a hungry day in the early period of his life!

In a large printing establishment, the real interest of which is to increase the healthy appetite of the public by supplying it with wholesome food of the best possible description, it is found to be absolutely necessary that 'the readers' should be competent to correct, not only the press, but the author. It is requisite not only that they should possess a microscopic eye, capable of detecting the minutest errors, but be also enlightened judges of the purity of their own language. The general style of the author cannot, of course, be interfered with; but tiresome repetitions, incorrect assertions, intoxicated hyperbole, faults in grammar, and, above all, in punctuation, it is the reader's especial duty to point out. It is, therefore, evidently necessary that he be complete master of his own tongue. It is also almost necessary that he should have been brought up a compositor, in order that he may be acquainted with the mechanical department of that business; and we need hardly observe that, from the intelligent body of men whose presence we have just left, it is not impossible to select individuals competent to fulfil the important office of readers.

But even to these persons, however carefully selected, it is

not deemed safe solely to intrust the supervision of a work : out of them *one* is generally selected, upon whom the higher duty devolves of scrutinising their labours, and of finally writing upon their *revises* the irrevocable monosyllable 'PRESS.'

We have already observed that while 'the reader' is seated in his cell, there stands beside him a small, intelligent boy, who is, in fact, the *reader* ; that is to say, he reads aloud from the *copy*, while the man pores upon and corrects the corresponding print. This child, for such he is in comparison with the age of the master he serves, cannot be expected to take any more interest in the heterogeneous mass of literature which he emits, than the little marble Cupids in Italy can be supposed to relish the water which is made everlastingly to stream from their mouths. The subject these boys are spouting is generally altogether beyond their comprehension ; and even if it were not so, the pauses that ensue while 'the reader' is involved in reflection and correction would be quite sufficient to break its thread : but it often happens that they read that which is altogether incomprehensible to them. Accordingly, in one cell the boy is found reading aloud to his patron a work in the French language, which he has never learned,—and which therefore he is thus most ludicrously pronouncing exactly as if it were English :—

'Less ducks knee sont pass,' &c. &c. &c.
i. e. Les dues ne sont pas, &c.

To 'the reader's' literary ears this must be almost as painful as to common nerves the setting of a saw : yet he patiently listens, and laboriously proceeds with his task. On entering another cell, the boy, who, perhaps, himself has never known sickness, is found monotonously reading, with a shrill voice, from a document entitled 'Tabular Abstract of the Causes of Death,' the most melancholy catalogue in the following page,

READERS.

		DISEASES.	Males.	Females.	TOTAL.
SPORADIC DISEASES.	Of the NERVOUS SYSTEM.	Cephalitis.....	11	9	20
		Hydrocephalus.....	45	35	80
		Apoplexy.....	13	10	23
		Paralysis.....	1	7	8
		Convulsions.....	80	63	143
		Tetanus.....	-	-	-
		Chorea.....	-	-	-
		Epilepsy.....	-	1	1
		Insanity.....	1	-	1
		Delirium Tremens.....	1	-	1
		Disease.....	16	9	25
		TOTAL.....	168	134	302
	Of the RESPIRATORY ORGANS.	Laryngitis.....	1	-	1
		Quinsey.....	3	-	3
		Bronchitis.....	2	3	5
		Pleurisy.....	2	1	3
		Pneumonia.....	35	35	70
		Hydrothorax.....	4	1	5
		Asthma.....	12	7	19
		Consumption.....	105	105	210
		Decline.....	56	69	125
		Disease.....	5	2	7
		TOTAL.....	225	223	448
	Of the ORGANS OF CIRCULATION.	Pericarditis.....	2	-	2
		Aneurism.....	1	-	1
		Disease.....	12	4	16
		TOTAL.....	15	4	19
	Of the DIGESTIVE ORGANS.	Teething.....	12	15	27
		Gastro-Enteritis.....	13	20	33
		Peritonitis.....	-	-	-
		Tabes Mesenterica.....	2	1	3
		Ascites.....	-	-	-
		Ulceration.....	-	-	-
		Hernia.....	1	1	2
		Colic.....	-	-	-
		Constipation.....	-	-	-
		Worms.....	2	2	4
		Disease.....	12	7	19
		Pancreas.....	-	-	-
		Hepatitis.....	1	-	1
		Jaundice.....	-	1	1
		Disease.....	5	8	13
		Spleen.....	-	-	-
		TOTAL.....	48	55	103

chiefly in, to him, unintelligible Latin, of the dismal roads by which our fellow-countrymen have just departed from life.

As soon as the last 'reader' has affixed his *imprimatur* on the labours of the compositor, and the latter has made the corrections, the forms containing the type are securely fixed, and they are then carried to the press-room, to which, with them, we will now proceed.

Descending from 'the readers'' cells to the ground floor, the visitor, on approaching the northern wing of Messrs. Clowes's establishment, hears a deep, rumbling sound, the meaning of which he is at a loss to understand until, the doors before him being opened, he is suddenly introduced to twenty-five enormous steam-presses, which, in three compartments, are all working at the same time. The simultaneous revolution of so much complicated machinery, crowded together in a comparatively small compass, coupled with a moment's reflection upon the important purpose for which it is in motion, is astounding to the mind; and as broad leather straps are rapidly revolving in all directions, the stranger pauses for a moment to consider whether or not he may get entangled in the process, and against his inclination, as authors generally say in their prefaces, go 'to press.'

We will not weary *our* reader by attempting a minute delineation of the wonderful picture before him, or even introduce to his notice the intelligent engineer, who, in a building apart from the machinery, is in solitude regulating the clean, well-kept, noiseless steam-engine which gives it motion; we will merely describe the literary process.

The lower part of each of the twenty-five steam-presses we have mentioned consists of a bed or table, near the two ends of which lie prostrate the two sets of 'forms' containing the types we have just seen adjusted, and from which impressions are to be taken.

By the power of machinery these types, at every throb of

the engine, are made horizontally to advance and retire. At every such movement they are met half way by seven advancing black rollers, which diagonally pass over them, and thus, by a most beautiful process, impart to them ink sufficient only for a single impression. As quickly as the types recede, the seven rollers revolve backwards till they come in contact with another large roller of kindred complexion, termed 'the doctor,' which supplies them with ink, which he, 'the doctor,' himself receives from a dense mass of the same material, which by the constant revolution of Esculapius assumes also the appearance of a roller.

When iron first began to be substituted in our navy for purposes for which it had hitherto been deemed to be totally inapplicable, it is said that an honest sailor, gravely turning his quid, observed to his comrade, '*Why Jack, our purser tells me that the Admiralty are going to provide us with cast-iron parsons!*' 'The doctor' of a steam printing-press is already composed of this useful material, but the other seven rollers are of an infinitely softer substance. They are formed of a mixture of treacle and glue; and in colour, softness, and consistency they are said, by those who have studied such subjects, exactly to resemble the arm of a young negro girl.

Above the table, the forms, and the rollers we have described, are, besides other wheels, two very large revolving cylinders, covered with flannel; the whole apparatus being surmounted by a boy, who has on a lofty table by his side a pile of quires of white paper.

Every time the lower bed has moved, this boy places on the upper cylinder a sheet of paper, which is ingeniously confined to its station by being slipped under two strings of tape. It is, however, no sooner affixed there, than by a turn of the engine, revolving with the cylinder, it is flatly deposited on the first of the 'forms,' which, by the process

we have described, has been ready inked to receive it : it is there instantaneously pressed, is then caught up by the other cylinder, and, after rapidly revolving with it, is again left with its white side imposed upon the second 'form,' where it is again subjected to pressure, from which it is no sooner released than it is hurried within the grasp of another boy, at the bottom part of the machinery, who, illumined by a gas light, extricates it from the cylinder, and piles it on a heap by his side.

By virtue of this beautiful process, a sheet of paper, by two revolutions of the engine, with the assistance of only two boys, is imprinted on both sides, with not only, say sixteen pages of letter-press, but with the various woodcuts which they contain. Excepting an hour's intermission, the engines, like the boys, are at regular work from eight A.M. till eight P.M., besides night-work when it is required. Each steam-press is capable of printing 1000 sheets an hour.

The apartments to the left of the machinery we have described contain no less than twenty-three common or hand-presses, of various constructions ; besides which, in each of the compositors' rooms, there is what is termed a proof-press. Each of these twenty-three presses is attended by two pressmen, one of whom inks the form, by means of a roller, whilst the other lays on and takes off the paper very nearly as fast as he can change it, and by a strong gymnastic exertion, affording a striking feature of variety of attitude, imparts to it a pressure of from a ton to a ton and a half, the pressure depending upon the size and lightness of the *form* ; this operation being performed by the two men, turn and turn about.

By his steam and hand presses Mr. Clowes is enabled at this moment to be printing simultaneously 'Brown's folio Bible,' 'Vyse's Spelling Book,' 'First Report of St. Martin's Subscription Library,' 'Religious Tracts,' 'Penny Cyclo-

pædia,' 'Penny Magazine,' 'The Harmonist' (in musical type), 'The Imperial Calendar,' 'Booksellers' Catalogues,' 'Registration Reports,' 'The Christian Spectator,' 'Pictorial Shakspeare,' 'Henry's folio Bible,' 'Butler's Lives of the Saints,' 'Registration of Births and Deaths,' 'Boothroyd's Bible,' 'Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong,' 'Palestine, or the Holy Land,' 'The Way to be Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise' (300,000 copies, of which 20,000 are delivered per day), 'The Quarterly Review,' &c.

Notwithstanding the noise and novelty of this scene, it is impossible either to contemplate for a moment the machinery in motion which we have described, or to calculate its produce, without being deeply impressed with the inestimable value to the human race of the art of printing—an art which, in spite of the opposition it first met with, in spite of 'the envious clouds which seemed bent to dim its glory and check its bright course,' has triumphantly risen above the miasmatical ignorance and superstition which would willingly have smothered it.

In the fifteenth century (the era of the invention of the art) the brief-men, or writers who lived by their manuscripts, seeing that their occupation was about to be superseded, boldly attributed the invention to the devil, and, building on this foundation, men were warned from using diabolical books 'written by victims devoted to hell.' The monks in particular were its inveterate opposers; and the Vicar of Croydon, as if he had foreseen the Reformation which it subsequently effected, truly enough exclaimed, in a sermon preached by him at St. Paul's Cross, '*We must root out printing, or printing will root us out!*' Nevertheless, the men of the old school were compelled to adopt the novelty thus hateful: in fact, many of the present names of our type have been derived from their having been first employed in the printing of Romish prayers; for instance, 'Pica,' from

the service of the Mass, termed *Pica* or *Pie*, from the glaring contrast between the black and white on its page—'Prinner,' from *Primarius*, the book of Prayers to the Virgin—'Brevier,' from *Breviary*,—'Canon,' from the *Canons* of the Church—'St. Augustin,' from that Father's writings having been first printed in that sized type, &c. &c.

How reluctantly, however, the old prejudice was parted with, even by the classes most interested in the advancement of the new device, may be inferred from Shakspeare's transcript of the chronicle in which Jack Cade, the radical spouter of his day, is made to exclaim against Lord Say, 'Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in *erecting a grammar school*; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and tally, thou hast caused *printing to be used*; and, contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast *built a paper-mill*!'

But we must pause in our quotations, for the wooden clocks in the compositors' halls have just struck 'ONE,' the signal throughout the whole establishment (which we may observe contains 340 workmen) that the welcome hour for rest and refreshment has arrived. The extended arm of the distributor falls as by paralysis to his side—the compositor as suddenly lays down his stick—the corrector his bodkin—the impositor abandons his quoins, reglet, gutters, scaleboard, chases, shooting-sticks, side-sticks, and his other 'furniture'—the wearied 'reader' slowly rises from his stool, his boy, like a young kid, having already bounded from his side. The wheels of the steam-presses abruptly cease to revolve—'the doctor' even becomes motionless—the boys descend from the literary pinnacles on which they had been stationed—the hand-presses repose—and, almost before the paper-men, type-founders, and other workmen can manage to lay down their work, in both Duke-street and Stamford-street printers' boys of various colours are seen either scudding away in all direc-

tions, or assembled in knots to play at leap-frog, or at whatever other game may happen to be what is technically called 'in.' A fat, ruddy-faced boy wearing a paper-cap is seen vaulting over the back of a young tight-made devil, while 'a legion of foul fiends' appear gambolling in groups, or jumping over each other's shoulders.*

While this scene is passing in the middle of the street, steady workmen who are going to their dinners are seen issuing in a stream out of the great gate, while at the same moment, by a sort of back current, there is entering the yard a troop of little girls with provisions for those who prefer to dine at their posts. Most of these children are bearers of one or more sixpenny portions of smoking hot meat with penny portions of potatoes or cabbage, in addition to which some of the little girls, with their longing eyes especially fixed on the dish, are carrying great twopenny lumps of apple-pudding, or heavy pieces of a cylindrical composition commonly called 'rolly-polly pudding,' which very closely resemble slices of 'the doctor.' Besides these eatables, a man is seen gliding hastily down the declivity of the yard, carrying in each hand a vertical tray glistening with bright pewter pint pots.

* Whenever a printer's devil, in the morning, at noon, or at night, is about to be let loose upon an author, 'the proofs' he is ordered to convey are secured in a leathern bag, strapped round his waist. Some time ago, however, a young, thoughtless imp, from Messrs. Clowes's establishment, chose to carry upon his *head* a heavy packet addressed by his employer to 'Lieut. Stratford, R.N., Somerset House.' 'You young rascal!' exclaimed a tall thief, who, after having read the inscription, cunningly ran up to him, 'Lieut. Stratford has been waiting for the last two hours for this parcel! Give it to me!' The devil, conscience-stricken and crest-fallen at the recollection that he had twice stopped on his road to play at marbles, delivered up his packet to the *conveyancer*; who, on opening it in his den, must have been grievously disappointed to find that it contained nothing but some proofs of '*The Nautical Almanac for 1840.*'

A remarkable silence now pervades the establishment. The halls of the compositors appear to be empty; for while enjoying their humble meal, sick of standing, they invariably seat themselves under their frames, and thus, like rats in their holes, they can scarcely be discovered. The care-worn reader, in solitude, is also at his meal; but whatever it may consist of, it would be hard to say which he enjoys most—food for the body or rest for the mind. The great steam-engine which works the twenty-five printing-presses is also at its dinner, which consists of a liberal allowance of good neat's-foot oil and tallow.

As this scene of rest and enjoyment is to last for a whole hour, we perhaps cannot better employ a small portion of the interim than by a few reflections on the history of printing.

The *labour* attendant upon propagating manuscript copies of volumes has been thus very feelingly described by William Caxton:—

‘Thus end I this book; and for as moche as in wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn haude weary, and myn eyne dimmed with overmoche lookyng on the whit paper, and that age creepeth on me dayly’

Accordingly fifty years were sometimes employed in producing a single volume. At the sale of Sir W. Burrell's books, May 1796, there was displayed a MS. Bible on vellum, beautifully written with a pen, and illuminated, which had taken upwards of half a century to perform; the writer, Guido de Jars, began it in his fortieth year (the period of life at which Sir Walter Scott began *Waverley*), and yet did not finish it till he was upwards of ninety.

The *expense* attendant upon the ancient operation will be sufficiently explained by the following extract of a translated epistle from Antonio Bononia Becatello to Alphonzo, King of Naples:—

‘You lately wrote to me from Florence that the works of Titus Livius are there to be sold in very handsome books, and that the price of each book is 120 crowns of gold : therefore I entreat your majesty that you cause to be bought for us Livy, whom we used to call the king of books, and cause it to be sent hither to us. I shall in the mean time procure the money which I am to give for the price of the book. One thing I want to know of your prudence, whether I or Poggius have done best : he, who, that he might buy a country-house near Florence, sold Livy, which he had writ in a very fair hand ; or I, who, to purchase Livy, have exposed a piece of land to sale ? Your goodness and modesty have encouraged me to ask these things with familiarity of you. Farewell, and triumph.’

Gaguin, in writing from France to one of his friends who sent to him from Rome to procure a Concordance, says,—

‘I have not to this day found a Concordance, except one that is greatly esteemed, which Paschasius the bookseller has told me is to be sold, and it may be had for a hundred crowns of gold,’ (about 83*l*.)

On the last leaf of a folio manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* (the property of the late Mr. Ames) there is written,—

‘Cest lyuir costa au palas de Parys quarante coronnes dor, sans mentyr.’

About the time of Henry II. the works of authors were, it has been said, read over for three days successively before one of the Universities, or before other judges appointed for the service, and, if they met with approbation, copies of them were then permitted to be taken by monks, scribes, illuminators, and readers, brought up or trained to that purpose for their maintenance. But the labours of these monks, scribes, illuminators, &c., after all, were only for the benefit of a very few individuals, while the great bulk of the community lived in a state of ignorance closely resembling that which has ever characterized and which still characterizes savage tribes.

The heaven-born eloquence of many of these people has

been acknowledged by almost every traveller who has enjoyed the opportunity of listening to it with a translator.

Nothing, it is said, can be more striking than the framework of their speech, which, commencing with an appeal to 'the Great Spirit' that governs the universe, gradually descends to the very foundation of the subject they are discussing. Nothing more beautiful than the imagery with which they clothe their ideas, or more imposing than the intellectual coolness with which they express them. From sunrise till sunset they can address their patient auditors; and such is the confidence these simple people possess in their innate powers of speech, that a celebrated orator was, on a late occasion, heard to declare, 'That had he conceived the young men of his tribe would have so erred in their decision, he would have attended their council fire, and would have spoken to them for a fortnight!'

But what has become of all the orations which these denizens of the forest have pronounced? What moral effect have they produced beyond a momentary excitement of admiration, participated only by a small party of listeners, and which, had even millions attended, could only, after all, have extended to the radius of the speaker's voice?

From our first discovery of their country to the present day, their eloquence has passed away like the loud moaning noise which the wind makes in passing through the vast wilderness they inhabit, and which, however it may affect the traveller who chances to hear it, dies away in the universe unrecorded.

Unable to read or write, the uncivilized orator of the present day has hardly any materials to build with but his own native talent; he has received nothing from his forefathers—he can bequeath or promulgate little or nothing to posterity—whatever, therefore, may be his eloquence, and whatever may be his intelligence, he is almost solely guided

by what resembles brute instinct rather than human reason, which, by the art of writing, transmits experience to posterity.

Before the invention of printing almost the whole herd of mankind were in a state of moral degradation, nearly equal to that which we have thus described; for, although various manuscripts existed, yet the expense and trouble of obtaining them was, as we have endeavoured to show, so great, that few could possess them in any quantities, except sovereign princes, or persons of very great wealth. The intellectual power of mankind was consequently completely undisciplined—there was no such thing as a combination of moral power—the experience of one age was not woven into the fabric of another—in short, the intelligence of a nation was a rope of sand. Now, how wonderful is the contrast between this picture of the dark age which preceded the invention of printing and the busy establishment which only for a few moments we have just left!

The distinction between the chrysalis and the butterfly but feebly illustrates the alteration which has taken place, since by the art of printing science has been enabled to wing its rapid and unerring course to the remotest regions of the globe. Every man's information is now received and deposited in a common hive, containing a cell or receptacle for everything that can be deemed worth preserving. The same facility attends the distribution of information which characterizes its collection. The power of a man's voice is no longer the measured range to which he can project his ideas; for even the very opinion we have just uttered, the very sentence we are now writing—faulty as they may both be—printed by steam, and transported by steam, will be no sooner published than they will be wafted to every region of the habitable globe,—to India, to America, to China, to every country in Europe, to every colony we

possess, to our friends, and to our foes, wherever they may be. In short, the hour has at last arrived at which the humblest individual in our community is enabled to say to those, whoever they may be, who are seen to wield authority wickedly,—

‘ Si vous m’opprimez, si vos grandeurs dédaignent
Les pleurs des innocens que vous faites couler,
Mon vengeur est au ciel : apprenez à trembler ! ’

As railroads have produced traffic, so has printing produced learned men; and ‘to this art,’ says Dr. Knox, ‘we owe the Reformation.’ The cause of religion has been most gloriously promoted by it; for it has placed the Bible in everybody’s hands. Yet, notwithstanding the enormous mass of information it has imparted, it is, however, a most remarkable fact, that printing is one of those busybodies who can tell every man’s history but his own.

Although four centuries have not elapsed since the invention of the noble art, yet the origin of this transcendent light, veiled in darkness, is still a subject of dispute! No certain record has been handed down fixing the precise time when—the person by whom—and the place whence this art derived its birth. The latent reason of this mystery is not very creditable to mankind; for printing having been as much the counterfeit as the substitute of writing, from sheer avarice it was kept so completely a secret, that we are told an artist, upon offering for sale a number of Bibles, which so miraculously resembled each other in every particular that they were deemed to surpass human skill, was accused of witchcraft, and tried in the year 1460.

Gutenberg, we all know, is said to have been the father of printing; Schoeffer the father of letter-founding; Faust, or Fust, the generous patron of the art; and by Hansard these three are termed ‘the grand typographical triumvirate.’

On the other hand, Hadrianus Junius, who wrote the

history of Holland in Latin, published in 1578, claims the great art for Harlaem, assigning to Laurentius Coster the palm of being the original inventor. Neither our limits nor our inclination allow us to take any part in the threadbare discussion of the subject. On the front of the house inhabited by Gutenberg, at Mentz, there is the following inscription:—

‘ JOHANNI GUTTENBERGENSI,
Moguntino
Qui Primus Omnium Literas Ære
Imprimendas Invenit,
Hac Arte De Orbe Toto Bene Merenti.’

Besides this, a fine statue by Thorwaldsen, erected in the city, was opened amidst a burst of enthusiasm. ‘For three days,’ says a late writer, ‘the population of Mayence was kept in a state of high excitement. The echo of the excitement went through Germany, and GUTENBERG! GUTENBERG!! was toasted in many a bumper of Rhenish wine, amidst this *cordial* and enthusiastic people.’ But while Gut! *Guten!* GUTENBERG! are thus resounding through Germany, the web-footed inhabitants of the city of Harlaem, nothing daunted, still paddle through their streets, with their burgo-masters at their head, holding annual festivals, and making public speeches, in commemoration of the grand discovery of the art by their ‘*beloved Coster,*’ to whom various monuments have been erected.

But two o’clock has arrived, and we therefore most readily abandon the history of printing, to return with Mr. Clowes’s people to his interesting establishment.

On entering the door of a new department, a number of workmen, in paper caps, and with their shirt sleeves tucked up, may be seen at a long table, immediately under the windows, as well as at another table in the middle of the room, intently occupied at some sort of minute, niggling

operation ; but what wholly engrosses the first attention of the stranger is the extraordinary convulsive attitudes of ten men, who, at equal distances from each other, are standing with their right shoulders close to the dead wall opposite to the windows.

These men appear as if they were all possessed with St. Vitus's Dance, or as if they were performing some Druidical or Dervishical religious ceremony. Instead, however, of being the servants of idolatrous superstition, they are in fact its most destructive enemies : for, grotesque as may be their attitudes, they are busily fabricating grains of intellectual gunpowder to explode it—we mean they are type-casting.

This important operation is performed as follows :—In the centre of a three-inch cube of hard wood, which is split into two halves like the shell of a walnut, there is inserted the copper matrix or form of the letter to be cast. The two halves of the cube when put together are so mathematically adjusted that their separation can scarcely be detected, and accordingly down the line of junction there is pierced, from the outer face of this wood to the copper matrix, a small hole, into which the liquid metal is to be cast, and from which it can easily be extricated by the opening or bisection of the cube. Besides this piece of wood, the type-caster is provided with a little furnace, and a small cauldron of liquid metal, projecting about a foot from the wall, on his right. The wall is protected by sheet-iron, which is seen shining and glittering in all directions with the metal that in a liquid state has been tossed upon it to a great height.

On the floor, close at the feet of each 'caster,' there is a small heap of coals, while a string or two of onions hanging here and there against the wall sufficiently denote that those who, instead of leaving the building at one o'clock, dine within it, are not totally unacquainted with the culinary art.

The ladles are of various denominations, according to the

size of the type to be cast. There are some that contain as much as a quarter of a pound of metal, but for common-sized type the instrument does not hold more than would one-half of the shell of a small hazel-nut.

With the mould in the left hand, the founder with his right dips his little instrument into the liquid metal—instantly pours it into the hole of the cube, and then, in order to force it *down* to the matrix, he jerks *up* the mould higher than his head; as suddenly he lowers it, by a quick movement opens the cube, shakes out the type, closes the box, re-fills it, re-jerks it into the air, re-opens it—and, by a repetition of these rapid manœuvres, each workman can create from 400 to 500 types an hour.

By the convulsive jerks which we have described the liquid is unavoidably tossed about in various directions; yet strange to say, the type-founder, following the general fashion of the establishment, performs this scalding operation with naked arms, although in many places they may be observed to have been more or less burned.

As soon as there is a sufficient heap of type cast, it is placed before an intelligent little boy, (whose pale, wan face sufficiently explains the effect that has been produced upon it by the antimony in the metal,) to be broken off to a uniform length; for, in order to assist in forcing the metal down to the matrix, it was necessary to increase the weight of the type by doubling its length. At this operation a quick boy can break off from 2000 to 3000 types an hour, although, be it observed, by handling new type a workman has been known to lose his thumb and forefinger from the effect of the antimony.

By a third process the types are rubbed on a flat stone, which takes off all roughness or '*bur*' from their sides, as well as adjusts their '*beards*' and their '*shanks*.' A good rubber can finish about 2000 an hour.

By a fourth process, the types are, by men or boys, fixed into a sort of composing-stick about a yard long, where they are made to lie in a row with their 'nicks' all uppermost: 3000 or 4000 per hour can be thus arranged.

In a fifth process, the bottom extremities of these types, which had been left rough by the second process, are, by the stroke of a plane, made smooth, and the letter-ends being then turned uppermost, the whole line is carefully examined by a microscope; the faulty types, technically termed 'fat-faced,' 'lean-faced,' and 'bottle-bottomed,' are extracted; and the rest are then extricated from the *stick*, and left in a heap.

The last operation is that of 'telling them down and papering them up,' to be ready for distribution when required.

By the system we have just described, Mr. Clowes possesses the power of supplying his compositors with a stream of new type, flowing upon them at the rate of 50,000 per day!

Type-founding has always been considered to be a trade of itself, and there is not in London, or we believe in the world, any other great *printing* establishment in which it is comprehended; but the advantages derived from this connexion are very great, as types form the life-blood of a printing-house, and, therefore, whatever facilitates their circulation adds to its health and promotes science.

Small, insignificant, and undecipherable as types appear to inexperienced eyes, yet, when we reflect upon the astonishing effects they produce, they forcibly remind us of that beautiful parable of the grain of mustard-seed, '*which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.*' But, casting theory aside, we will endeavour to demonstrate the advan-

tages which not only the establishment before us, but the whole literary world, *bonâ fide* derives from a cheap, ready, and never-failing supply of type.

By possessing an ample store of this *primum mobile* of his art, a printer is enabled, without waiting for the distribution or breaking up of the type of the various publications he is printing, to supply his compositors with the means of 'setting up' whatever requires immediate attention—literary productions, therefore, of every description are thus relieved from unnecessary quarantine, the promulgation of knowledge is hastened, the distance which separates the writer from the reader is reduced to its minimum.

But besides the facility which the possession of abundance of type gives both to the publisher and to the public, the printer's range, or in other words the radius, to the extent of which he is enabled to serve the world, is materially increased; for with an ample supply he can manage to keep type in 'forms' until his proofs from a distance can be returned corrected. In a very large printing establishment like that before us, this radius is very nearly the earth's diameter; for Messrs. Clowes are not only enabled, by the quantity of type they possess, to send proofs to the East and West Indies, but they are at this moment engaged in printing a work regularly published in England every month, the proof-sheets of which are sent by our steamers to be corrected by the author in America!

Again, in the case of books that are likely to run into subsequent editions, a printer who has plenty of type to spare can afford to keep the forms standing until the work has been tested; and then, if other editions are required, they can, on the whole, be printed infinitely cheaper than if the expense of composition were in each separate edition to be repeated—the publisher, the printer, and the public, all, therefore, are gainers by this arrangement.

In by-ways as well as in high-ways, literary labourers of the humblest description are assisted by a printing establishment possessing abundance of type. For instance, in its juvenile days, the 'Quarterly Review' (which, by the way, is now thirty years old) was no sooner published than it was necessary that the first article of the following number should go to press, in order that the printer might be enabled, article by article, to complete the whole in three months. Of the inconvenience to the *editor* attendant upon this 'never-ending-still-beginning system, we deem it proper to say nothing : our readers, however, will at once see the scorbutic inconvenience which they themselves must have suffered by having been supplied by us with provisions, a considerable portion of which had unavoidably been salted down for nearly three months. Now, under the present system, the contents of the whole number lie open to fresh air, correction, and conviction—are ready to admit new information—to receive fresh facts - to so late a moment, that our eight or ten articles may be sent to the printer on a Monday with directions to be ready for publication on the Saturday.

But notwithstanding all the examples we have given of the present increased expenditure of type, our readers will probably be surprised when they are informed of the actual quantity which is required.

The number of sheets now standing in type in Messrs. Clowes's establishment, each weighing on an average about 100 lbs., is above 1600. The weight of type not in forms amounts to about 100 tons!—the weight of the stereotype plates in their possession to about 2000 tons : the cost to the proprietors (without including the original composition of the types from which they were cast) about 200,000*l*. The number of woodcuts is about 50,000, of which stereotype-casts are taken and sent to Germany, France, &c.

Having mentioned the amount of stereotype-plates in the

establishment, it is proper that we should now visit the foundry in which *they* are cast. The principal piece of furniture in this small chamber is an oven, in appearance such as is commonly used by families for baking bread. In front of it there stands a sort of dresser; and close to the wall on the right, and adjoining the entrance door, a small table. The ‘forms’ or pages of types, after they have been used by the printer, and before the stereotype impression can be taken from them, require to be cleaned, in order to remove from them the particles of ink with which they have been clogged in the process of printing. As soon as this operation is effected, the types are carefully oiled, to prevent the cement sticking to them, and when they have been thus prepared, they are placed at the bottom of a small wooden frame, where they lie in appearance like a schoolboy’s slate. In about a quarter of an hour the plaster of Paris, which is first dabbed on with a cloth and then poured upon them, becomes hard, and the mixture, which somewhat resembles a common Yorkshire pudding, is then put into the oven, where it is baked for an hour and a half. It is then put into a small iron coffin with holes in each corner, and buried in a cauldron of liquid metal, heated by a small furnace close to the oven—the little vessel containing the type gradually sinks from view, until the silvery glistening wave rolling over it entirely conceals it from the eye. It remains at the bottom of this cauldron about ten minutes, when being raised by the arm of a little crane, it comes up completely encrusted with the metal, and is put for ten minutes to cool over a cistern of water close to the cauldron. The mass is then laid on the wooden dresser, where the founder unmercifully belabours it with a wooden mallet, which breaks the brittle metal from the coffin, and the plaster of Paris cast being also shattered into pieces, the stereotype impression which, during this rude operation, has remained unharmed, is introduced for the first moment of its

existence into the light of day. The birth of this plate is to the literary world an event of no small importance, inasmuch as 100,000 copies of the best impressions can be taken from it, and with care it can propagate a million! The plates, after being rudely cut, are placed on a very ingenious description of Procrustesian bed, on which they are by a machine not only all cut to the same length and breadth, but with equal impartiality planed to exactly the same thickness.

The plates are next examined in another chamber by men termed 'pickers,' who, with a sharp graver, and at the rate of about sixteen pages in six hours, cut out or off any improper excrescences; and if a word or sentence is found to be faulty, it is cut out of the plate, and replaced by real type, which are soldered into the gaps. Lastly, by a circular saw the plates are very expeditiously cut into pages, which are packed up in paper to go to press.

We have already stated that in Messrs. Clowes's establishment the stereotype plates amount in weight to 2000 tons. They are contained in two strong rooms or cellars which appear to the stranger to be almost a mass of metal. The smallest of these receptacles is occupied entirely with the Religious Tract Society's plates, many of which are fairly entitled to the rest they are enjoying, having already given hundreds of thousands of impressions to the world. It is very pleasing to find in the heart of a busy, bustling establishment, such as we are reviewing, a chamber exclusively set apart for the propagation of religious knowledge; and it is a fact creditable to the country in general, as well as to the art of printing in particular, that, including all the publications printed by Messrs. Clowes, one fourth are self-devoted to religion. The larger store, which is 100 feet in length, is a dark *omnium gatherum*, containing the stereotype plates of publications of all descriptions. But even in *this* epitome of the literature of the age, our readers will be gratified to learn

that the sacred volumes of the Established Church maintain, by their own intrinsic value, a rank and an importance, their possession of which has been the basis of the character and unexampled prosperity of the British empire. Among the plates in this store there are to be seen reposing those of thirteen varieties of Bibles and Testaments, of numerous books of hymns and psalms, of fifteen different dictionaries, and of a number of other books of acknowledged sterling value. We have no desire, however, to conceal that the above are strangely intermixed with publications of a different description. For instance, next to 'Doddridge's Works' lie the plates of 'Don Juan:' close to 'Hervcy's Meditations' lie 'The Lives of Highwaymen,' 'Henderson's Cookery,' 'The Trial of Queen Caroline,' and 'Macgowan's Dialogue of Devils.' In the immediate vicinity of the 'Pilgrim's Progress' repose 'The Newgate Calendar' (6 vols.), and 'Religious Courtship;' and lastly, in this republic of letters, close to 'Sturm's Reflections,' 'Ready Reckoner,' 'Goldsmith's England,' and 'Hutton's Logarithms,' are to be found 'A whole Family in Heaven,' 'Heaven taken by Storm,' 'Baxter's Shove to ***** Christians,' &c. &c. &c.

On the whole, however, the ponderous contents of the chamber are of great literary value; and it is with feelings of pride and satisfaction that the stranger beholds before him, in a single cellar, a capital, principally devoted to religious instruction, amounting to no less than 200,000*l*. !

In suddenly coming from the inky chambers of a printing-office into the paper-warehouse, the scene is, almost without metaphor, 'as different as black from white.' Its transition is like that which the traveller experiences in suddenly reaching the snowy region which caps lofty mountains of dark granite.

It must be evident to the reader that the quantity of

paper used by Messrs. Clowes in a single year must be enormous.

This paper, before it is despatched from the printer to the binder, undergoes two opposite processes, namely, wetting and drying, both of which may be very shortly described. The wetting-room, which forms a sort of cellar to the paper-warehouse, is a small chamber, containing three troughs, supplied with water, like those in a common laundry, by a leaden pipe and cock. Leaning over one of these troughs, there stands, from morning till night, with naked arms, red fingers, and in wooden shoes, a man, whose sole occupation, for the whole of his life, is to wet paper for the press. The general allowance he gives to each quire is two dips, which is all that he knows of the literature of the age; and certainly, when it is considered that, with a strapping lad to assist him, he can dip 200 reams a day, it is evident that it must require a considerable number of very ready writers to keep pace with him. After being thus wetted, the paper is put in a pile under a screw-press, where it remains subjected to a pressure of 200 tons for twelve hours. It should then wait about two days before it is used for printing; yet, if the weather be not too hot, it will, for nearly a fortnight, remain sufficiently damp to imbibe the ink from the type.

We have already stated that, as fast as the sheets printed on both sides are abstracted by the boys who sit at the bottoms of the twenty-five steam-presses, they are piled in a heap by their sides. As soon as these piles reach a certain height, they are carried off, in wet bundles of about one thousand sheets, to the two drying rooms, which are heated by steam to a temperature of about 90° of Fahrenheit. These bundles are there subdivided into 'lifts,' or quires, containing from fourteen to sixteen sheets; seven of these lifts, one after another, are rapidly placed upon the transverse end of a long-handled 'peel,' by which they are raised nearly to the

ceiling, to be deposited across small wooden bars ready fixed to receive them, in which situation it is necessary they should remain at least twelve hours, in order that not only the paper, but the ink, should be dried. In looking upwards, therefore, the whole ceiling of the room appears as if an immense shower of snow had just suddenly been arrested in its descent from heaven. In the two rooms about four hundred reams can be dried in twenty-four hours.

When the operation of drying is completed, the 'lifts' are rapidly pushed by the 'peel' one above another (like cards which have overlapped) into a pack, and in these masses they are then lowered, and again placed in piles, each of which contains the same 'signature,' or, in other words, is formed of duplicates of the same sheet. A work, therefore, containing twenty-four sheets—marked or *signed* A, B, C, and so on, to Z—stands in twenty-four piles, all touching each other, and of which the height of course depends upon the number of copies composing the edition. A gang of sharp little boys of about twelve years of age, with naked arms, termed *gatherers*, following each other as closely as soldiers in file, march past these heaps, from every one of which they each abstract, in regular order for publication, a single sheet, which they deliver as the complete work to a 'collator,' whose duty it is rapidly to glance over the printed signature letters of each sheet, in order to satisfy himself that they follow each other in regular succession; and as soon as the signature letters have either, by one or by repeated gatherings, been all collected, they are, after being pressed, placed in piles about eleven feet high, composed of complete copies of the publication, which, having thus undergone the last process of the printing establishment, is ready for the hands of the binder.

The group of gathering-boys, whose 'march of intellect' we have just described, usually perform per day a thousand journeys, each of which is, on an average, about fourteen

yards. The quantity of paper in the two drying-rooms amounts to about 3000 reams, each weighing about 25 lbs. The supply of white paper in store, kept in piles about 20 feet high, averages about 7000 reams; the amount of paper printed every week and delivered for publication amounts to about 1500 reams (of 500 sheets), each of which averages in size $389\frac{3}{8}$ square inches. The supply, therefore, of white paper kept on hand would, if laid down in a path of $22\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, extend 1230 miles; the quantity printed on both sides per week would form a path of the same breadth of 263 miles in length. In the course of a year Messrs. Clowes consume, therefore, white paper enough to make petticoats of the usual dimensions (ten demys per petticoat) for three hundred and fifty thousand ladies!

The *ink* used in the same space of time amounts to about 12,000 lbs.

The cost of the paper may be about 100,000*l.*; that of the ink exceeding 1500*l.*

In one of the compartments of Messrs. Clowes's establishment, a few men are employed in fixing metal-type into the wooden blocks of a most valuable and simple machine for impressing coloured maps, for which the inventor has lately taken out a patent.

The tedious process of drawing maps by hand has long been superseded by copper engravings; but besides the great expense attendant upon these impressions, there has also been added that of *colouring*, which it has hitherto been deemed impossible to perform but by the brush. The cost of maps, therefore, has not only operated to a considerable degree as a prohibition of their use among the poor, but, in general literature, it has very materially checked many geographical elucidations, which, though highly desirable, would have been too expensive to be inserted.

By his beautiful invention, the new artist has not only

imparted to woodcut blocks the advantages of impressing, by little metallic circles, and by actual type, the positions as well as the various names of cities, towns, rivers, &c., which it would be difficult as well as expensive to delineate in wood, but he has also, as we will endeavour to explain, succeeded in giving, by machinery, that bloom, or, in other words, those colours to his maps, which had hitherto been laboriously painted on by human hands.

On entering the small room of the house in which the inventor has placed his machine, the attention of the stranger is at once violently excited by seeing several printer's rollers, which, though hitherto deemed to be as black and as unchangeable as an Ethiopian's skin, appear before him bright yellow, bright red, and beautiful blue! 'Tempora mutantur,' they exultingly seem to say, '*nos et mutamur in illis!*' In the middle of the chamber stands the machine, consisting of a sort of open box, which, instead of having, as is usual, one lid only, has one fixed to every side, by which means the box can evidently be shut or covered by turning down either the lid on the north, on the south, on the east, or on the west.

The process of impressing with this engine is thus effected:—A large sheet of pure white drawing paper is, by the chief superintendent, placed at the bottom of the box, where it lies, the emblem of innocence, perfectly unconscious of the impending fate that awaits it. Before, however, it has had any time for reflection, the north lid, upon which is embedded a metal plate, coloured *blue*, suddenly revolves over upon the paper, when, by the turn of a press underneath the whole apparatus, a severe pressure is instantaneously inflicted. The north lid is no sooner raised than the south one, upon which is embedded a metal plate coloured *yellow*, performs the same operation; which is immediately repeated by the eastern lid, the plates of which are coloured *red*; and, lastly,

by the western lid, whose plates contain nothing but *black* lines, marks of cities, and names.

By these four operations, which are consecutively performed, quite as rapidly as we have detailed them, the sheet of white paper is seen successfully and happily transformed into a most lovely and prolific picture, in SEVEN colours, of oceans, empires, kingdoms, principalities, cities, flowing rivers, mountains (the tops of which are left white), lakes, &c., each not only pronouncing its own name, but declaring the lines of latitude and longitude under which it exists. The picture, or, as it terms itself, 'The Patent Illuminated Map,' proclaims to the world its own title: it gratefully avows the name of its ingenious parent to be *Charles Knight*.

A few details are yet wanting to fill up the rapid sketch or outline we have just given of the mode of imprinting these maps. On the northern block, which imparts the first impression, the oceans and lakes are cut in wavy lines, by which means, when the whole block is coloured *blue*, the wavy parts are impressed quite light; while principalities, kingdoms, &c., are deeply designated, and thus by one process *two blues* are imprinted.

When the southern block, which is coloured *yellow*, descends, besides marking out the principalities, &c., which are to be permanently designated by that colour, a portion of it re-covers countries which by the first process had been marked *blue*, but which, by the admixture of the *yellow*, are beautifully coloured *green*. By this second process, therefore, *two* colours are again imprinted. When the eastern lid, which is coloured *red*, turning upon its axis, impinges upon the paper, besides stamping the districts which are to be designated by its own colour, it intrudes upon a portion of the *blue* impression, which it instantly turns into *purple*, and upon a portion of the *yellow* impression, which it instantly

changes into *brown* ; and thus, by this single operation, *three* colours are imprinted.

But the three lids conjointly have performed another very necessary operation—namely, they have moistened the paper sufficiently to enable it to receive the typographical lines of longitude and latitude, the courses of rivers, the little round marks denoting cities, and the letterpress, all of which, by the last pressure, are imparted, in common black printer's ink, to a map, distinguishing, under the beautiful process we have described, the various regions of the globe, by light blue, dark blue, yellow, green, red, brown, and purple.*

By Mr. Knight's patent machine maps may be thus furnished to our infant schools at the astonishingly low rate of 4½*d.* each.

Before the wooden clocks in the compositors' halls strike EIGHT—at which hour the whole establishment of literary labourers quietly return to their homes, excepting those who, for extra work, extra pay, and to earn extra comforts for their families, are willing to continue their toilsome occupation throughout the whole night, resuming their regular work in the morning as cheerfully as if they had been at rest—we deem it our duty to observe that there are many other printing establishments in London which would strikingly exemplify the enormous physical power of the

* We ought to observe that an analogous invention has already been brought to great perfection, by Mr. Hulmandell, in the department of lithography. By using consecutively six, ten, or a dozen stones, each charged with its separate colour, the effect of a fine water colour drawing is reproduced in most wonderful lightness and brilliancy, while (the colour used being all oil-colour) a depth is given to the shadows which the cleverest master of the water-colour school cannot reach in his own original performance. A set of views of French scenery and architecture, done in this way, may now be seen in the shops: they are, in fact, beautiful pictures; and you get, we believe, twenty-six of them for eight guineas.

British press—especially that of the ‘Times’ Newspaper, which, on the 28th of November, 1814, electrified its readers by unexpectedly informing them that the paper they held in their hands had been printed by *steam*; and it is impossible for the mind to contemplate also, for a single moment, the *moral* force of the British Press, without reflecting, and without acknowledging that, under Providence, it is the only engine that can now save the glorious institutions of the British Empire from the impending ruin that inevitably awaits them, unless the merchants, the yeomanry, and the British people, aroused by the loud warning of the said press, shall constitutionally disarm the hand of the destroyers: we will, however, resolutely arrest ourselves in the utterance of these very natural reflections, because we have determined not to pour a single bitter drop into a literary cup which we have purposely concocted only for Christmas use.

To ‘the Governor’ of the building through which we have perambulated we cordially offer, in return for the courtesy with which he has displayed it, ‘the compliments of the season;’ and with equal gratitude let us acknowledge the important service rendered to the social family of mankind by the patient labour of each overseer, compositor, reader, pressman, and type-founder in his noble establishment. Let us give them the praise which is due to their art, and, to conclude, ‘LET US GIVE TO THE DEVIL HIS DUE!’

A DAY AT A PRINTING-OFFICE.

REPRINTED FROM "DAYS AT THE FACTORIES."

BY PERMISSION OF MR. KNIGHT.

A DAY AT A PRINTING-OFFICE.

THE writer, in the preparation of this Paper, has availed himself of information originally published under the title of 'The Commercial History of a Penny Magazine,'—a series of papers published in 1833, and written by the author of 'The Results of Machinery.'

AMONG all the manufactures which—for the mental and mechanical skill required in their prosecution, the remarkable steps by which they have attained their present rank, and the influence which they exert on society generally—claim our attention and admiration, none perhaps is more striking than the *manufacture of a book*. The written thoughts of those whose thoughts were worthy of being known used to be transcribed, copy after copy, by the hands of monks and laborious students; and these copies were prized according to the labour bestowed upon them, irrespective, in many cases, of the literary merits of the production. But the introduction of printing changed the nature of this valuation. The larger the number of *written* copies required, the higher would be the price of each, because the demand for transcribers' labour would be increased; but the larger the number of *printed* copies demanded, the cheaper could each one be furnished, because machinery and the classification of labour could be brought more effectually into operation. The process of printing, when compared with that of writing, is unquestionably a cheap one, provided a sufficient number of copies of any particular book be printed, so as to distribute the original outlay over a large circle. If, for example, it were required, even at the present time, to print three or four copies only of any

production, the cost of printing would be greater than that of transcribing. It is only when hundreds or thousands of copies are required that the paramount importance of the printing press becomes fully developed; and when the sale amounts to tens of thousands, the effect upon the *price* of each copy becomes very remarkable.

These matters belong properly to the history of printing; but it may be worth while to allude to them here, as a means of accounting for the growth of the vast printing establishments in operation at the present day. Whether we say that cheap literature has given a spur to printing, or that printing has given a spur to cheap literature, or, which is perhaps the more correct of the three, that each has received advancement from the other, it is clear that the printing establishments of the present day excel, both in extent and completeness, those of any former period. To one of these establishments, then, viz., that of Messrs. Clowes, we will pay a visit, and endeavour to understand the rationale of the daily operations.

This printing-office occupies a large area of ground westward of Duke Street, Stamford Street. A chimney rears its head from the buildings below, and indicates the locality; but the vicinity of other chimneys—belonging to a soap factory in one place, a saw-mill in another, and so forth—might render this a treacherous beacon, so we will discard it, and find our way to the entrance of the factory. Within side the gates, masses of buildings present themselves on all sides. Unlike many factories where an open area or court occupies the central portion between the buildings, this establishment has distinct masses of buildings lying in various directions and separated by narrow passages, instead of an open court. The truth seems to be that, in proportion as the business has increased, every inch of room has been appropriated. We may, however, pick out the topo-

graphy of the place in something like the following manner. In the centre of the whole factory is a low building, containing the greater number of the large printing machines belonging to the establishment, together with an engine-room and other factory appurtenances. Looking from this centre towards the north, south, east, and west, loftier buildings meet the eye, presenting, as it would appear, no particular symmetry of arrangement, but adapted to the wants and conveniences of the time. Composing-rooms, readers'-rooms, type-making shops, stereotyping shops, paper-warehouses, hand-printing shops, machine-printing shops, wood-block store-rooms, stereotype-plate store-rooms,—these comprise the dense assemblage which the eye glances on around. These we will visit in the order of processes, premising that this is one of the very few printing establishments (the only one, indeed, as far as we are aware) in which type-making or casting is carried on.

In one tiny room, small indeed compared with the importance of the process carried on therein, the first germ of a type is produced. Every one knows that the printed letters of a book are produced by small inked types, each of which has a letter *in relief* on one end. But how this type is produced may have been with many a question. Is it cut with sharp tools, or is it cast in a mould? When we even go one step further back, and state that it is cast in a mould, it may yet be asked, how is the mould produced? Nay, we may, after admitting that the mould is produced by punching, have yet to ask, how is the punch produced? This is the work of the artist who has his sanctum in the room which we are visiting. Every letter is modelled in relief, on the end of a small bar of steel, by very sharp steel tools, resembling in temper, and partly in form, those used by the engraver. With the punch thus made, an impression is struck into a little piece of copper about an inch

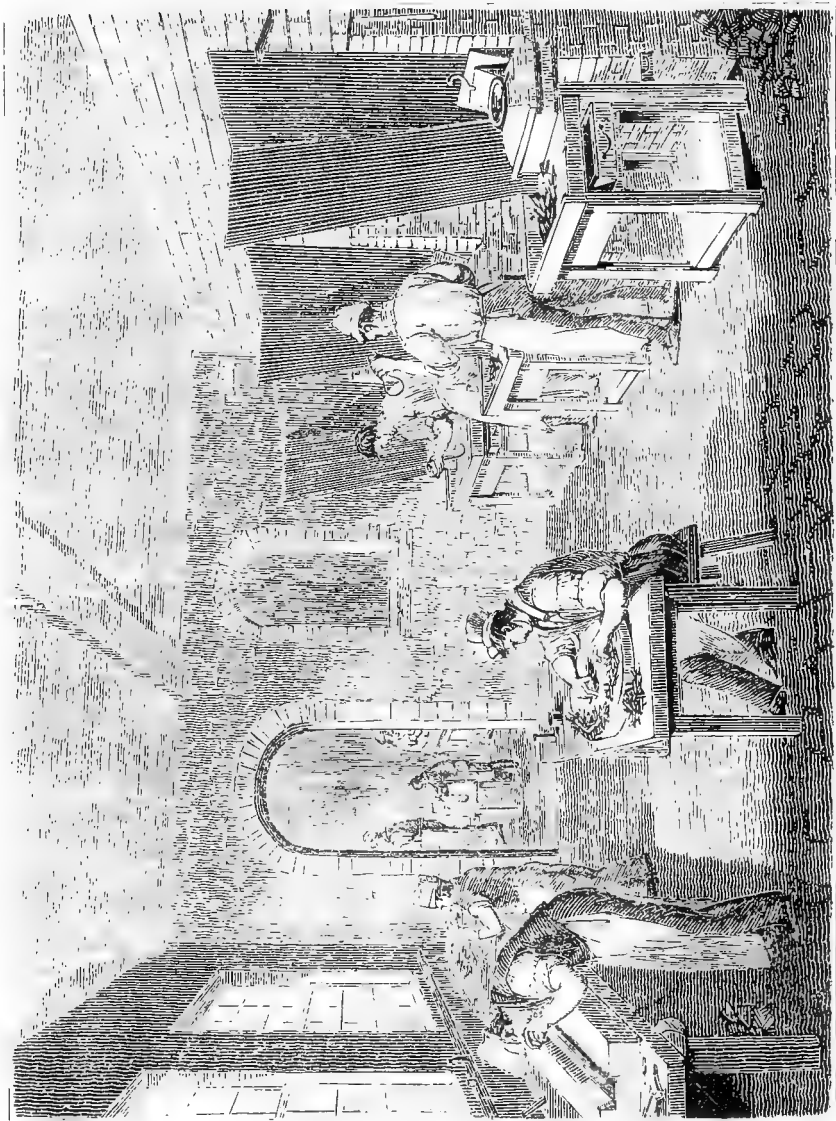
long; so that the hollow thus produced in the copper becomes a kind of mould from which casts may be afterwards made. The letter which is cut in the end of the punch differs in size according to the size of the printing required. Each size has its own particular name, and odd names they are. There are about fourteen sizes used in printing books; and the names of these, together with the number of lines in a foot, are thus given:—

Double Pica equal to	41½	Bourgeois equal to	102¼
Paragon	44½	Brevier	112½
Great Primer	51½	Minion	128
English	64	Nonpareil	143
Pica	71½	Pearl	178
Small Pica	83	Diamond	205
Long Primer	89		

For instance, the type with which the present book is printed is '*small pica*,' of which there are 83 lines to the foot. These differences may be more clearly exhibited to the eye by giving a few specimens.

Price per 1000.	Names of the various sized Types.	Specimens of the various sized Types.
6 <i>d.</i>	Great Primer ..	The art of printing inve
	English	The art of printing invented
	Pica	The art of printing invented in G
	Small Pica	The art of printing invented in Germa
	Long Primer ..	The art of printing invented in Germany
	Bourgeois	The art of printing invented in Germany in 14
6½ <i>d.</i>	Brevier	The art of printing invented in Germany in 144
7 <i>d.</i>	Minion	The art of printing invented in Germany in 1440
7½ <i>d.</i>	Nonpareil	The art of printing invented in Germany in 1440 by John
8 <i>d.</i>	Ruby	The art of printing invented in Germany in 1440 by John Gut
8½ <i>d.</i>	Pearl	The art of printing invented in Germany in 1440 by John Gutenberg.
10 <i>d.</i>	Diamond	The art of printing invented in Germany in 1440 by John Gutenberg.

When the punch has formed the *matrix*, or hole in the little slip of copper, we follow the latter into the 'type-



foundry,' a double apartment, containing about thirty men and boys making and trimming types. In the two halves of the shop, separated by a partition and doorway, we see about sixteen or eighteen small furnaces, each about a yard in height, and having at the top a pan or crucible capable of containing a few pounds of melted metal. Near each of these furnaces a man is at work; but a stranger cannot form the remotest idea at first what these men are about. The left arm, eight or ten times in a minute, is suddenly jerked upwards; the right hand is, with the same rapidity, passed to and fro; and a small machine seems to be undergoing some kind of adjustment after every upward jerking of the left arm. This operation, when once understood, can scarcely fail of being deemed one of the most remarkable instances of manipulative dexterity. In the *eighth part of a minute* each man ladles a very small quantity of melted metal out of the crucible or pan, pours it into a mould held in the left hand, jerks the mould upwards to drive the metal into the minute interstices of the mould, opens the mould, extracts the solidified but still heated type, and prepares the mould for a second casting. That all this can be done in seven or eight seconds is a fact so astonishing that even ocular demonstration scarcely removes incredulity; and yet the heap of made-type gradually accumulates on the bench of the workman, at the rate of four or five hundred an hour!

When we examine this process more closely, we find that the mould or instrument held in the left hand of the workman is a very ingenious little contrivance, formed as in Fig. 2.

The mould is composed of two parts. The external surface is of wood, the internal of steel. At the top, as will be seen by the cut, is a shelving orifice, into which the metal is poured. The space within is as true as if it

had been hollowed out of a single piece of steel; but nevertheless it is formed by the intimate union of the two parts of the mould, each part forming two of the four sides of the letter. It is not a matter of difficult adjustment to bring these sides together; it is the operation only of an instant.

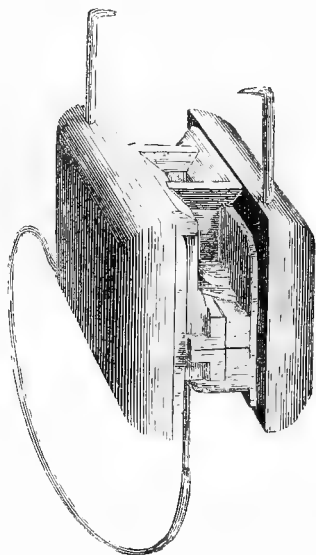


FIG. 2

At the bottom of the mould, immediately under the orifice, is the matrix. This is held in its place by a metal spring, represented at the lower part of the cut; and every letter that is cast can only be loosened from the matrix by removing the pressure of the spring. In Fig. 1 there is a representation of three furnaces. At the first, which is unoccupied, may be seen the little table at which the founder works, and the pot out of which he dips the heated metal with a very small ladle; at the second furnace the workman is shown at the moment after he has poured the metal

into the mould; and at the third the other workman is represented in the act of separating the two parts of the mould, and picking out the letter from the lower half, with the hook shown at the top edge of the other half. It certainly has an appearance not a little remarkable to see twenty men throwing their arms about in apparently a convulsive manner; and the surprise is not by any means lessened when we know the real nature of the operation.

In other parts of these two shops are men and boys who

take the types as fast as they are cast, and bring them into a finished state. Seated at a table is a boy who collects in a heap before him the types made by many casters, each type having a piece of superfluous metal attached to its end as it comes out of the mould. It is this boy's business to break off the superfluous metal; and this he does with such rapidity that the mode in which he operates can scarcely be followed by the eye. The average number is two thousand in an hour; but some boys have been known to break off five thousand types in this space of time. This rapidity is the more remarkable as the boy must seize the type, not upon the flat surface, but upon its edges, to avoid breaking or bending it.

The boys whom we have just left are designated 'breaking-off boys,' and the types pass from them to other boys called 'rubbers,' seated at benches near the range of windows. Each rubber has before him on his bench a circular piece of gritstone, on which he rubs the sides of every type singly, to remove slight asperities left by the casting; the fingers of his right hand are armed with a piece of tarred leather, with which he holds the type during its rubbing against the stone. Two thousand types are thus rubbed on both sides in an hour.

We have not yet done with this closely occupied apartment. There is yet the 'dresser' to notice, whose office it is to examine every type, and to bring them all to an equal height. This workman receives from a boy a number of types, all set up in lines in a long shallow frame with the face of the type uppermost. The workman then secures the types into a compact mass, with the bottom ends uppermost, and runs a plane along them to bring them all to a level surface. He also examines the face or device on every type with a magnifying glass, and throws aside all those which are defective. The width and depth of each type

may in all cases be pretty well determined by looking at the size of the individual letters in a printed book, the type being large or small in proportion to the size of the letters; but the *length* of all types is the same, being rather less than an inch. It is easy to see how essential it is that every letter-type should be perfectly square and true, when it is considered that if they were not of uniform height the impression could not be even; and that if there were the least deviation from a regular form, it would be quite impossible that when many thousand single letters are combined to form the page of a book, they could hold well together.

Leaving the type-foundry, we see, in one of the store-rooms of the establishment, a case or nest of shelves, neither lofty nor large; and yet it contains eighty thousand pounds weight of type. This is called the 'fount-case'—*fount* being a technical term for all the types belonging to one size and character. The fount-case is divided into compartments, each for the reception of a particular letter; and in this case the type is deposited after it leaves the foundry, and before it is consigned to the compositor.

We next visit one of the six compositors' rooms belonging to the establishment, the principal of which is known as the 'long-room.' This remarkable-looking room does not ill deserve its name, for it is more than two hundred and fifty feet in length; and yet it is so narrow that a stranger cannot help fearing that, as he passes along, he must incommode the industrious and intelligent men who are working near his elbow. Along the whole of the south side of the room, from end to end, are arranged small benches or 'frames,' at each of which a compositor is at work; and the compositors thus stand, one before another, to the number of about sixty, with their left hands towards the wall. The opposite side of the room presents here and there 'proof-presses,' for testing the accuracy of the compositors' work; and there are also a

few small recesses or rooms occupied by 'readers,' whose office we shall presently describe. If we watch any one of the compositors, we shall find that he has the author's manuscript before him, and is building up, letter by letter, the means of sending forth the author's thoughts to the world.

The arrangement of the compositor's 'frame' or work-bench is exceedingly curious, and deserves to be studied somewhat closely. Our description will be aided by Fig. 3.



FIG. 3.

Each *frame* at which a compositor works is constructed to hold two pair of *cases*. Each pair of cases contains all the letters of the alphabet, whether small letters or capitals, as well as points, figures, &c., &c. One of these pair of cases is occupied by the *Roman* letters, the other by the *Italic*.

The upper case is divided into ninety-eight partitions, all of equal size; and these partitions contain two sets of capital letters, one denominated 'full capitals,' the other 'small capitals;' one set of figures; the accented vowels; and the marks of reference for notes. The lower case is divided into partitions of four different sizes; some at the top and ends being a little smaller than the divisions of the upper case; others nearer the centre being equal to two of the small divisions; others equal to four; and one equal to six. In all there are fifty-three divisions in the lower case. The inequality in the size of the cells of the lower case is to provide for the great differences as to the quantity required of each letter. According to the language in which it is used, one letter is much more frequently wanted than another; and the proportions required of each have been pretty accurately settled by long experience. As some of our readers may be curious to know these proportions as they apply to the English language, we subjoin the type-founder's scale for the small characters of a fount of letter of a particular size and weight.

a 8500	h 6400	o 8000	v 1200
b 1600	i 8000	p 1700	w 2000
c 3000	j 400	q 500	x 400
d 4400	k 800	r 6200	y 2000
e 12000	l 4000	s 8000	z 200
f 2500	m 3000	t 9000	
g 1700	n 8000	u 3400	

The meaning of these numbers is easily understood. If, in an average English book, there be 8500 *a*'s in a given space, there will be found somewhere about 1600 *b*'s, 3000 *c*'s, and so forth in the same space of the book. Latin and French works devour more of *c*, *i*, *l*, *m*, *p*, *q*, *s*, *u*, and *v*, than English. The proportion in which a particular letter is required renders it necessary that the cells of the lower

case should be arranged, not as the letters follow each other, alphabetically, but that those in most frequent use should be nearest the hand of the compositor. The point to which he brings the letters, after picking them up out of their cells, is not far removed from the centre of the lower case; so that in a range of about six inches on every side he can obtain the *c, d, e, i, s, m, n, h, o, y, p, u, t, a*, and *r*, the letters in most frequent use. The spaces, which he wants for the division of the words, lie close at his hand at the bottom of the central division of the lower case. It must be quite obvious that the man who contrived this arrangement saved a vast deal of time to the compositor.

Such being the mode of arranging the contents of the 'frame,' the compositor proceeds as follows:—Standing before the pair of cases which contain the Roman letter, he holds in his left hand what is called a *composing-stick*. This is a little iron or brass frame, one side of which is moveable, so that it may be adjusted to the required width of the page or column which the workman has to set up. It is made perfectly true and square; for without such accuracy the lines would be of unequal length. It is adapted to contain not more than about twelve lines of such type as is employed in this present book. This little instrument is represented in Fig. 4.

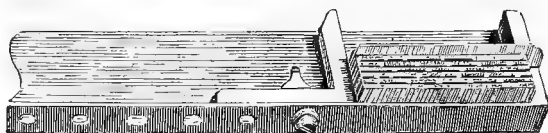


FIG. 4.—Composing-stick.

The copy from which the compositor works rests upon the least used part of the upper case. The practised compositor takes in a line or two at a glance, always provided the author writes an intelligible hand,—which virtue is by

no means universal. One by one, then, the compositor puts the letters of each word and sentence into his stick, securing each letter with the thumb of his left hand, which is therefore continually travelling on from the beginning to the end of a line. His right hand goes mechanically to the box which he requires; but his eye is ready to accompany its movements. In each letter there is a nick, or nicks, which indicates the bottom edge of the letter; and the nick must be placed outwards in his composing-stick. Further, the letter must also be placed with the face upwards, so that two right positions must be combined in the arrangement of the types. If the compositor were to pick up the letter at random, he would most probably have to turn it in his hand; and as it is important to save every unnecessary movement, his eye directs him to some one of the heap which lies in the right position, both as regards the face being upwards and the nick being outwards. This nick is one of those pretty contrivances for saving labour which experience has introduced into every art, and which are as valuable for diminishing the cost of production as the more elaborate inventions of machinery. When he arrives at the end of his line, the compositor has a task to perform, in which the carefulness of the workman is greatly exhibited. The first letter and the last must be at the extremities of the line: there can be no spaces left in some instances, and no crowding in others, as we see in the best manuscript. Each metal type is of a constant thickness, as far as regards that particular letter, though all the letters are not of the same thickness. The adjustments, therefore, to complete the line with a word, or, at any rate, with a syllable, must be made by varying the thickness of the spaces between each word. A good compositor is distinguished by uniformity of spacing: he will not allow the words to be very close together in some instances, or with a large gap between them in others. His

duty is to equalize the spacing as much as he possibly can; and this is in some cases very troublesome. When the workman has *filled his stick*, as it is called,—that is, has set up as many lines as his stick will conveniently hold,—he lifts them out into what is termed a *galley*, by grasping them with the fingers of each hand, and thus taking them up as if they were a solid piece of metal. The facility with which some compositors can lift about what is called a *handful* of moveable type without deranging a single letter is very remarkable. This sort of skill can only be attained by practice; and thus one of the severest mortifications which a learner has to endure is to toil for an hour or two in picking up several thousand letters, and then see the fabric destroyed by his own clumsiness, leading him to mourn over his heap of broken type,—technically called *pie*,—as a child mourns over his fallen house of cards.

Letter by letter, and word by word, is the composing-stick filled; and by the same progression the galley is filled by the contents of successive sticks. In the instance of newspapers and most other periodical works, a proof is taken before the types are made up into pages. In books, however, when the compositor has set up as many lines as fill a page, he binds them tightly round with cord, and places them under his frame. The number of lines required to fill a page depends of course on the size of the page, whether it be octavo, duodecimo, or any other. If we take the present volume as an illustration, we find 34 lines in a page; and the compositor binds this number of lines of type together. In every case when the requisite pages for a sheet are complete, the compositors arrange the pages in proper order upon a bench called the *imposing stone*; surround each page with pieces of wood called *furniture*, so as to leave an equal margin to every page; and, finally, wedge the whole tightly together in a stout iron frame, called a *chase*. If the work is properly

executed, the pages thus wedged up, constituting one side of a sheet, termed a *form*, are perfectly tight and compact; and the *form* may be carried about with as much ease as if it were composed of solid plates, instead of being formed of 40,000, or 50,000, or even 100,000 moveable pieces. Fig. 5 shows the various pieces of apparatus here alluded to.

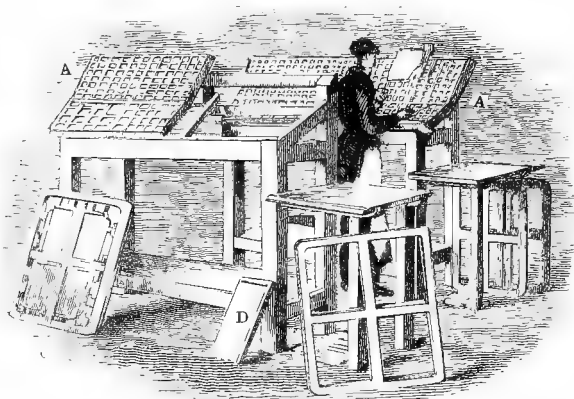


FIG. 5. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.

Whether the lines which a compositor sets up are made into pages, and *imposed* as a sheet, or whether a proof is taken of them in an earlier stage, the business of the *reader* commences immediately after that of the compositor. No one unacquainted with the details of a printing-office can conceive the great differences between the correctness of one compositor and of another. The differences in the talent, the acquired knowledge, and even the moral habits of different men, are the causes of these remarkable variations.

When the ordinary reader of a newspaper or of a book meets with an occasional blunder either of a letter or a word, he is apt to cry out upon the carelessness with which

Missing Page

Missing Page

1 of The process of printing, when compared with that of
 writing, is unquestionably a ~~dear~~ process; provided a ² ~~1~~ ^{check}
 3 copies of sufficient number of ^a any particular book are printed, so ¹ ~~1~~ ^{check}
 5 as to render the proportion of the first expense upon a ¹ ~~1~~ ^{check}
 7 single copy inconsiderable. If, for example, it were
 required, even at the present ~~present~~ time, to print a ¹ ~~1~~ ^{check}
 single copy, or even three copies or four, only of any ¹ ~~1~~ ^{check}
 production, the cost of printing would be greater than
 the cost of transcribing.

It is when hundreds, and especially thousands, of the
 same work are demanded that the great value of the

and
 for the

the newspaper or book is printed. It is in the very nature of the process of producing words and sentences by the putting together of moveable types that a great many blunders should be made by the compositor in the first stage, which nothing but the strictest vigilance can detect and get rid of. The ordinary process of correction is for the printer's reader to look upon the proof, while another person, generally a boy, reads the copy aloud. As he proceeds, the reader marks all the errors which present themselves upon a first perusal. These errors are of various kinds, such as the omission of a stop, a letter, or a word, the substitution of one letter for another, the transposition of letters, crookedness in a line of letters, and so forth. The reader has a quick and efficient system of symbols by which the compositor's eye is at once attracted to the locality and the precise nature of the error. Perhaps we cannot do better than present, as in the annexed folding-leaf, two printed paragraphs, which we will suppose to have been submitted to the 'reader' for revision. Almost every possible variety of typographical error is here introduced, and in the margin are the marks and directions by which the 'reader' draws the attention of the compositor to the errors. The meaning of the various symbols is explained beneath.

When the 'reader' has made these corrections in the margin, the 'proof' is sent back to the compositor; and here a business of great labour and difficulty ensues. The omitted words and letters have to be introduced, and the incorrect words and letters have to be replaced by the correct. The introduction of two or three words will sometimes derange the order of a dozen lines; and the omission of a sentence will involve the re-arrangement of many pages. In this tedious process new blunders are oftentimes created, and these again can only be remedied by after-vigilance. The first corrections being perfected, the reader has what is called

a *revise*. He compares this with his first proof, and ascertains that all his corrections have been properly made. In this stage of the business the proof generally goes to the author ; and it is rarely that the most practised author does not feel it necessary to make considerable alterations. The complicated process of correction is again to be gone over. The printer's reader and the author have again revises ; and what they again correct, is again attended to. The proof being now tolerably perfect, the labour of another reader is in most large establishments called in. It is his business to *read for press*—that is, to search for the minutest errors with a spirit of the most industrious criticism. The author has often to be consulted upon the queries of this captious personage, who ought to be as acute in discovering a blunder, as a conveyancer in finding out a flaw in a title-deed. But in spite of all this activity blunders *do* creep in ; and the greatest mortification that an author can experience is the lot of almost every author,—namely, to take up his book, after the copies have gone out to the world, and find some absurdly obvious mistake, which glares upon him when he first opens the book, and which, in spite of his conviction that it was never there before, has most likely escaped his own eye, and that of every other hunter of errors that the best printing-office can produce.

Our visit to the compositors' and readers' rooms has been rather lengthy ; but the work therein transacted forms the life-blood of the whole, and must be understood pretty clearly before we can appreciate the steps by which the author is dependent on the actual 'printer.'

The composing-rooms in this large establishment are situated in different parts of the premises, and are provided with all the necessary accommodations for two hundred compositors.

We have watched the putting together of a body of type,

or other substance should attach to the bottom of the types, so as to prevent them being completely level upon the surface. The page is now placed upon the lower part of a *moulding-frame*, represented in Fig. 7, in which we have also depicted a wood-cut or block included as part of the page; for wood-cuts can be stereotyped as well as types. The upper part of the frame is somewhat larger than the page, and the margin of mould thus formed determines the thickness of the plate. The types having been previously rubbed over with an oily composition, gypsum (plaster of Paris) is poured evenly over the whole surface. Almost every one knows that this substance, although moulded in a liquid state, sets very quickly, and soon becomes perfectly solid. There is a good deal of nicety required from the workman, not only in forming the mould, but in removing it from the type. If any part of the plaster adheres to the face of the type, the mould is of course imperfect, and the operation must be gone over again. To prevent this, considerable care is required in the preparation of the gypsum, and much neatness of hand in separating the mould from the page. Having been removed and found perfect, it requires some dressing with a knife on its edges, and several notches are cut in the margin to allow the metal to enter the mould. It is now fit for baking. This process also requires a good deal of accurate knowledge. The oven in which the moulds are placed upon their edges must be kept at a very regular temperature; for if it be too hot, the moulds warp.

The process of casting begins when the moulds have been baked sufficiently long to be perfectly dry and hard. We next direct our notice to the *casting-box*, represented in Fig. 8. At the bottom of this box is a moveable plate of cast-iron, called a *floating-plate*; and upon this plate, the face of which is perfectly accurate, the mould is placed with its face downwards. Upon the back of the mould rests the cover of the

Understanding these few details, we now visit the stereotype foundry, a square room lighted by several skylights. Around the room are furnaces and ovens, a tank with a crane or tackle suspended above it, and various benches and apparatus occupied by men working either in plaster or in metal. We have said that a cast of the type is first taken in plaster of Paris, and that another cast is taken from this in metal; and the routine of proceedings is briefly as follows:—The first operation is that of taking a *mould* from each page of moveable types. The pages are not



FIG. 2. Moulding-frame.

arranged as they would be combined in a sheet, and wedged up together in one iron frame or chase, but each page is put in a separate chase. It is essential that the face of the types should be perfectly clean and dry, and that no particle of dirt

remove the mould from the casting-box. The plaster mould, the plate moulded, and the floating-plate, are all solidly fixed together; and the metal, by its specific gravity, has forced itself under the latter, which it has consequently driven tightly up against the ledges of the mould. The mould has in the same way been driven tightly up against the lid of the casting-box; and the notches in the ledges of the mould have, at the same time, admitted the metal into the minutest impression from the face of the types. The caster now breaks off the superfluous metal and the ledges of the mould with a wooden mallet. The mould is of course destroyed; and if another plate is required, another mould must be taken from the types. After the superfluous metal and plaster are removed, the stereotype plate comes out bright and well formed.

From the stereotype foundry we proceed to two busily occupied shops, where the plates, produced in the manner just described, are finished off and prepared for the pressman. Sometimes letters of reference, explanatory of a wood-cut, are required; and these, if not inserted in the original block itself, are introduced in the plate. If any alterations, after all the corrections which the 'reader' has made, are still required, a portion of this plate is cut away, and types introduced into the cavity. Various adjustments of a similar kind are made, in which cutting, filing, melting, and soldering are the processes adopted. If the vacuities of such letters as the *a* and the *e* have become filled up with little globules of metal, they have to be cleaned or picked out; and if any impurities fill up the lines of a wood-cut, these likewise must be removed. The humble designation of a 'picker' scarcely does justice to the intelligent workman who undertakes this kind of labour; for taste and judgment, as well as accuracy of hand and eye, are called for in the due exercise of this vocation.

casting-box, the inside face of whose lid is also perfectly true. The cover is held tightly down in the mould by the metal screw and arm seen in the cut.

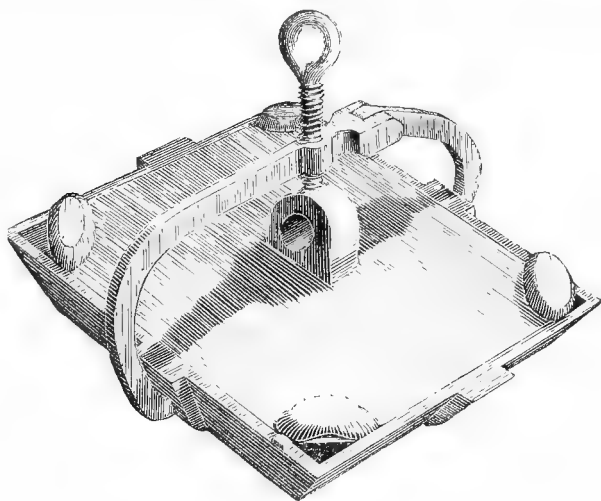


Fig. 1. — Casting Box.

The moulding-frame being thus placed in the casting-box, the latter is immersed in an open copper or vessel, of which there are four in the foundry, each holding ten or eleven hundredweights of melted metal (antimony and lead). It will be seen that there are holes in the corners of the cover of the casting-box, through which the liquid metal finds its way into the hollow within. At the instant when the box is plunged into the metal, a bubbling noise is heard, which is occasioned by the expulsion of the air contained within the box. After having remained immersed for about ten minutes, it is steadily lifted out by the crane, and swung to a cooling-trough, in which the under side of the box is exposed to water. Being completely cooled, the caster proceeds to

fed with power from three large boilers in an adjoining apartment. Powerful and expeditious as are the performances of these steam-worked printing-machines, they form by no means the only printing apparatus in the place; for there are in this large establishment two dozen printing-presses, the distinction between which and printing-machines being, among others, that the former are worked by hand and the latter by steam-power. The rooms containing the presses are distinct from those which contain the machines, and a visitor cannot fail to remark the difference between the kind of labour required in one room and that required in the other. The inking of the types and the working of a press are operations requiring not only celerity of movement, but considerable muscular effort; whereas in the printing machine steam does all the hard work,—in fact it effects everything except laying on the sheets of white paper, and removing the same sheets when printed. The printing-rooms, like most other parts of the factory, are so closely occupied, that some little care is required in threading one's way through and between the machines, presses, and benches; and if a visitor should bring away with him, on his garments, a few specimens of printing ink, he must not be surprised.

It is not easy to understand the action of the large printing-machines, unless we first comprehend that of the more simple printing presses. The presses employed by the early printers bore a tolerably close resemblance to a modern napkin-press; the 'form,' or collected page of types, being first inked, and then placed between the two boards of a screw-press.

It is evident that this mode of obtaining an impression must have been very laborious and very slow. As the screw must have come down upon the types with a dead pull,—that is, as the table upon which the types were placed was solid and unyielding,—great care must have been required

In the smaller of the two shops now under notice the *backs* of the plates are first ground or cut away to produce an uniform thickness of metal by the aid of a beautiful lathe; and the surface is then smoothed by a peculiar kind of plane.

We are now approaching that point where the types and the plates prepared by this remarkable series of processes are to be brought to bear upon the sheets of fair paper which are afterwards to form a book. We will therefore visit the paper warehouses. These portions of the establishment are loaded with piles of paper to an enormous extent; so large, indeed, as to amount sometimes to five or six thousand reams! Right and left, from the floor to the ceiling, are these heaps deposited, ready to be removed when wanted for printing.

As a convenience to hand down paper, a large trap door opens a communication between the paper warehouses and a 'wetting-room,' to which we will follow the paper in its march towards the printing-room. In the 'wetting-room' are tanks or cisterns, into which cold water is always flowing. A man or a boy opens a ream of paper, and dips each quire a few times in water, regulating the degree of saturation to the circumstances of the case. From three to seven 'dips' are required for each quire. The quires are piled up one on another as fast as they are wetted; and the whole bundle is then removed on a board to another spot, where it is left to soak, either with or without pressure.

Now we arrive at the time when the bustling, the closely filled, the all-important 'machine-rooms' are to be visited. Here we see around us five and twenty complicated printing-machines, working with untiring constancy from morning till night, giving forth at every few seconds printed sheets of paper. Adjacent to them, but in a separate building, are the two steam-engines, which supply motive power to all these machines; while the steam-engines are, in their turn,

being too hard. Blaw's presses gradually drove out the more ancient press; but even as recently as the year 1770, Luckombe, in his 'History of Printing,' then published, says, "There are two sorts of presses in use, the old and the new fashioned; the old sort till of late years were the only presses used in England." We give a representation of Blaw's "new-fashioned" press, with which at the beginning of the present century all the printing of Europe was performed.

This press has been in some measure superseded by a very superior one, invented by Earl Stanhope, and very properly named after him: the new invention enabled the printer to produce superior specimens of printing to those which could be printed at the old presses; but the rate of working (about two hundred and fifty impressions on one side of a sheet per hour) remained nearly the same in both. The following cut represents the Stanhope press, the action of which may be thus briefly described:—

The body of the press is formed by a massive frame of

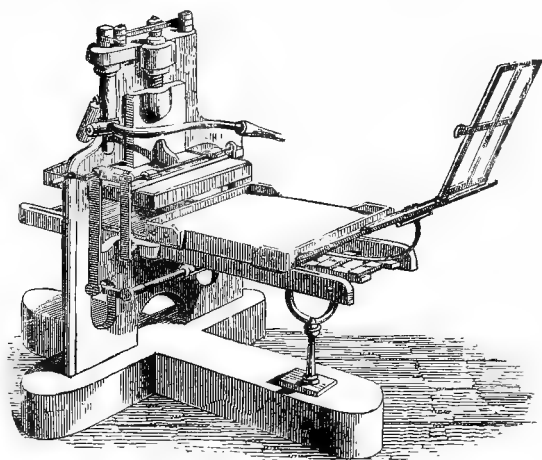


Fig. 10 -- The Stanhope Press

to prevent the pressure being so hard as to injure the face of the letters. These defects were at last remedied by an ingenious Dutch mechanic, Wilhem Jansen Blaew, who carried on the business of a mathematical-instrument maker at Amsterdam; in which business he had received instruction and encouragement from the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahé. The improvements in Blaew's presses do not require

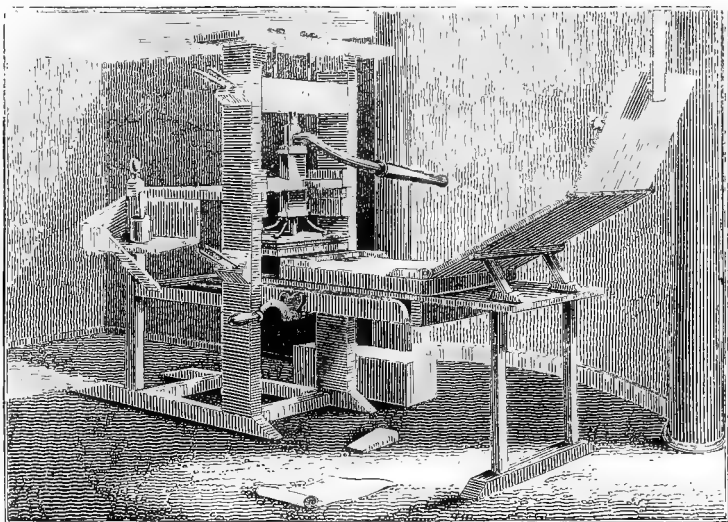


FIG. 9.—Blaw's, or the Common Printing-press.

to be particularly described. It may be sufficient to mention that the head of the press in which the screw worked, as well as the bed upon which the table containing the *form* of types rested, were yielding; and that the screw consisted of three or four worms, according to the size of the cylinder. In this way the pressure was rapidly communicated from the screw to the types; and the spring above and below gave a sharpness to the impression, while it prevented it

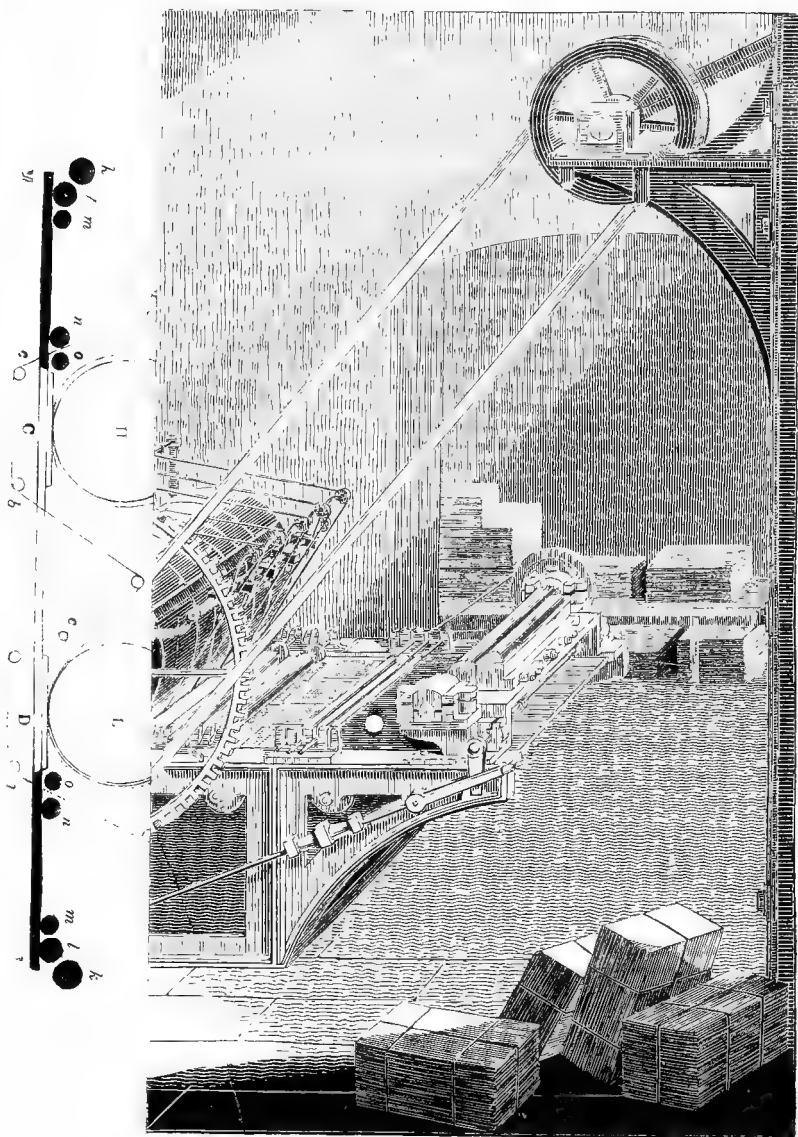
conceived. Even at the present day, in humbler establishments, the 'inking-balls' are employed. These 'balls' are shaped somewhat like the colour-bladders used by artists, but are nearly as large as the printer's head. Holding one in each hand, he thumps them one against the other, against an ink-bed, and against the 'form' of type, with a sad waste of muscular strength. The printer used to make these inking-balls of sheep's pelt; and besides the time thus wasted, an enormous quantity of ink was also unprofitably expended.

Such was the state of the press department of printing, not only in England, but throughout the world, till the year 1814. As several approaches had been made before the time of Faust to the principle of printing books from moveable types, so the principle of producing impressions from a cylinder, and of inking the types by a roller, which are the great principles of the printing-machine, had been discovered in this country as early as the year 1790. In that year Mr. William Nicholson took out a patent for certain improvements in printing, the specification of which clearly shows that to him belongs the first suggestion of printing from cylinders. But this inventor, like many other ingenious men, was led astray by a part of his project which was highly difficult, if not impracticable, to the neglect of that portion of his plan which, since his time, has been brought into the most perfect operation. Nicholson's patent was never acted upon. The first maker of a printing-machine was Mr. Koenig, a native of Saxony; and the first sheet of paper printed by cylinders and by steam was the 'Times' newspaper of the 28th November, 1814. The machine thus for the first time brought into action was that of Mr. Koenig. Since that time various improvements have been introduced; and the machines now employed at this establishment, as well as many others, are those originally patented by Messrs. Apple-gath and Cowper, in which the double processes of inking

iron, firmly fixed to a wooden cross or foundation. The flat bed or table seen in the cut is that on which the 'form' of types is placed; and is, with the 'form,' capable of being brought under the screw of the press. A kind of hinged cover is seen attached to the end of the table nearest to the eye; and this consists of two 'tympan' or stretched pieces of parchment, having layers of flannel between them, so as to form a soft, yielding surface. Hinged to the upper end of this tympan-frame is another skeleton frame, called a 'frisket.' This being the arrangement of parts, the mode of proceeding is simply thus:—The sheet of white paper to be printed is laid flat on the tympan, and the frisket is folded down upon it; the 'form' of type is inked, and the tympan, with the paper and frisket attached, is folded over and brought down in contact with it, the frisket being so regulated as to allow the paper to come in contact with the inked type. The whole is then brought under the press, and the screw worked by hand; the pressure is relaxed; the 'form' drawn out; the tympan lifted up; the frisket opened; and the sheet of paper, printed on one side, removed.—All this takes a long time to describe; but the united processes do not occupy so much as one fourth of a minute.

The Columbia press, the Albion press, and other modern varieties have introduced sundry improvements; but they all act on the same general principles as the Stanhope, except that the force of the Columbia is applied by a lever, the Stanhope by a screw.

While watching the proceedings of the pressmen at such an establishment as this, we see that they apply ink to the surface of the type by means of an elastic kind of roller, formed of glue and treacle, the surface of which is coated with a slight layer of printing ink. But if we had visited a printing-office some years ago, we should probably have witnessed a mode of inking, as uncouth, perhaps, as can be



and printing are effected by a beautiful system of machinery. To explain this action in writing is no easy matter; but in the annexed folding-cut we have given a representation of the whole machine, unencumbered by letters of reference; while adjacent to it is a diagram, representing a vertical section of the whole arrangement, which the letters of reference may enable us thus to describe:—

A sheet of paper taken from the table A, is laid on the 'feeder' B, which consists of girths of linen, tightly stretched by being passed round two cylinders. By the motion of this feeder the sheet is placed between the two systems of tapes which lie on the cylinder G: these tapes, of which one set is represented by the dotted line, and the other by the thin line, lie two and two over each other on the cylinders and small rollers *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i*. The sheet of paper grasped between them is kept clean at the places in which it is in contact with them, and by the motion of the various parts is conducted under the first printing-cylinder H, and receives an impression from the types at C: thence, by means of the cylinders I, K, to the second printing-cylinder L, where it receives an impression on the other side from the types at D. Thus printed on both sides, it is taken out at *e* by an attendant. The cylinders I and K are simply for the purpose of conveying the sheet steadily and smoothly from one printing-cylinder to the other. The sheet will be seen to be reversed in its progress from one set of types to the other, descending the left side of the first, and the right side of the second printing-cylinder. An inking-apparatus is placed at each end of the table M, N, which carries the types C, D, and which traverses backwards and forwards under the printing-cylinders L, H, and inking-rollers. The ink, received from a reservoir *k*, by the two rollers *l* and *m*, is transferred from them to the surface of the table; and the surface of the table inks the rollers *n, o*; and these, in their

turn, ink the types as they pass backwards and forwards for each impression.

Thus far for the action of the machine, the comprehension of which will enable a visitor to understand what goes on in the printing-room. Let us suppose the sheets of any stereotyped work about to be printed. One man, and sometimes two men, are engaged in what is technically called *making ready*; and this with stereotype plates is a tedious and delicate operation. The plates are secured upon wooden blocks, by which they are raised to the height of moveable types; but then, with every care in casting, and in the subsequent turning operation, these plates, unlike moveable types, do not present a perfectly plane surface. There are hollow parts which must be brought up by careful adjustment; and this is effected by placing pieces of thin paper, 'underlays,' under any point of the stereotype plate where the impression is faint, as well, if the nature of the plate requires it, upon the cylinder, 'overlays.' This process often occupies many hours, particularly where there are casts from wood-cuts. Let us suppose it completed. Upon the solid steel table at each end of the machine lie the eight pages which print one side of the sheet. At the top of the machine, where the laying-on boy stands, is a heap of paper, which has been previously wetted in the room noticed in a former page: this wetting is necessary to prevent the ink, which is a composition of oil and lamp black, from smearing the surface of the paper. The signal being given by the director of the work, the 'laying-on' boy, who is mounted on a stool, turns a small handle, and the moving power of the strap connected with the engine is immediately communicated. Some ten or twenty spoiled sheets are first passed over the types to remove any dirt or moisture. If the director is satisfied, the boy begins to lay on the white paper. He places the sheet upon a flat table before him, with its edge ready to be seized by

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It is calculated not a little to astonish a visitor, to know that eight hundred sheets can be thus printed in an hour, even of works which require much care; while, by a modification of the machine, four thousand newspapers can be printed in the same space of time.

The printing-rooms, like the composing-rooms, have detained us a considerable time; but these are, in truth, the most important parts of the establishment. We will follow the printed sheets to another department, as a means of visiting another portion of the premises. When the printing of a number of sheets is completed, the paper requires drying before anything else is done with it; and this drying is effected in steam-heated rooms, provided with hundreds of cross-bars and poles ranged in parallel lines. A boy, called the 'hanger-up,' is provided with an instrument called a *peel* (Fig. 12), and consisting of a broad flat piece of wood fixed to the end of a long handle. The edge of this peel is laid on a heap of damp printed sheets, and several of them, from two or three to eight or ten in number, are lapped over it. It is then moved sideways a few inches, and another portion is lapped over, till the peel is full; after which the whole are transferred to one of the drying poles.

The rooms in which these sheets thus hang till dry are plentifully supplied with steam-pipes, by which any desired temperature may be maintained.

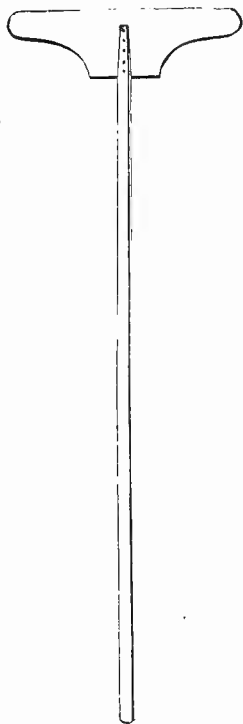


Fig. 12.—A Peel.

the apparatus for conveying it upon the drum. At the first movement of the great wheel, the inking apparatus at each end has been set in motion. A steel cylinder attached to the reservoir of ink has begun slowly to move,—the ‘doctor’ (a technical name for a roller which was perhaps originally called a ‘conductor’) has risen to touch that cylinder for an instant, and thus receive a supply of ink,—the inking-table has passed under the ‘doctor’ and carried off that supply,—and the distributing rollers have spread it equally over the surface of the table. This surface having passed under the inking-rollers, communicates the supply to them; and they in turn impart it to the ‘form’ which is to be printed. All these beautiful operations are accomplished in the sixteenth part of a minute, by the travelling backward and forward of the carriage or table upon which the ‘form’ rests. Each roller revolves upon an axis which is fixed. At the moment when the ‘form’ at the back of the machine is passing under the inking-roller, the sheet, which the boy has carefully laid upon the table before him, is caught in the web-roller and conveyed to the endless bands or tapes which pass it over the first impression cylinder. It is here seized tightly by the bands, which fall between the pages and on the outer margin. The moment after the sheet is seized upon the first cylinder, the ‘form’ passes under that cylinder, and the paper being brought in contact with it receives an impression on one side. To give the impression on the other side, the sheet is to be turned over; and this is effected by the two drums in the centre of the machine. The endless tapes never lose their grasp of the sheet, although they allow it to be reversed. While the impression has been given by the first cylinder, the second ‘form’ of types at the other end of the table has been inked. The drums have conveyed the sheet during this inking upon the second cylinder; it is brought in contact with the types; and the operation is complete.

THE HYDRAULIC PRESSES.

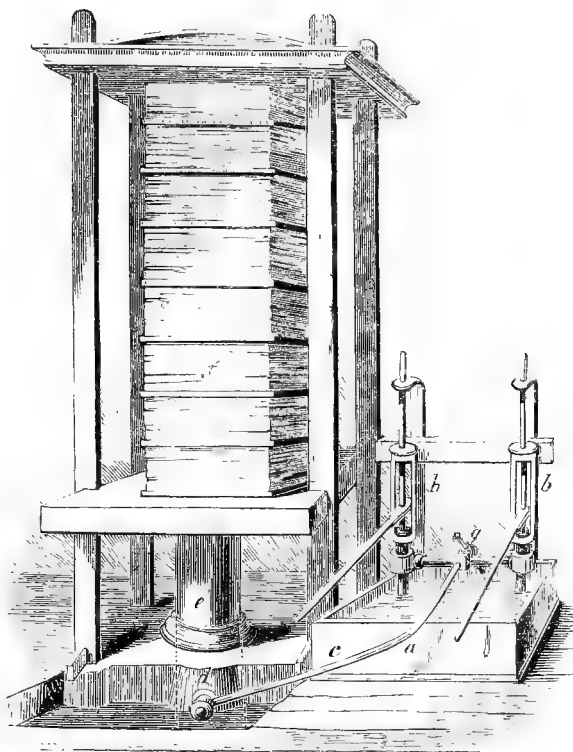


FIG. 1. Hydraulic Press.

two boys can, in a few minutes, and by the agency of a single pailful of water, exert a pressure of from ten to forty tons! For the better kinds of books before gathering, glazed or polished millboards are inserted between the sheets of paper previous to pressing, to give a higher degree of smoothness and gloss.

We may now consider the printed sheets to have been despatched to the binder or the publisher. But there is a question which may naturally occur to the mind of a reader,

From the drying-room the printed sheets are carried to another room, where, at an oblong bench beneath a range of windows, another boy, called a 'gatherer,' is employed. This boy is walking to and fro all day long, 'gathering' sheets of paper into certain heaps, an operation for the due understanding of which a little explanation is necessary. A book when printed consists of a certain number of sheets, and each sheet comes from the press or machine in one large heap. After the sheets are dried and before the work is delivered to the binder, it is necessary to take a single sheet from each heap to form a perfect book; and to effect this is the work of the 'gatherer.' The heaps of sheets are ranged in order on a bench, in front of which the 'gatherer' walks, taking a sheet from each heap in succession, and holding the collected sheets in his left hand till he reaches the last heap, when the gathering is completed. The edges of the sheets of this gathering he makes quite even, and lays them down flat at the end of the bench. In the same room with the 'gatherer' is the 'collater,' who tests the accuracy of his proceedings. This collater sits before a gathered heap, and with a sharp bodkin lifts each sheet separately, to ascertain that they follow in regular succession, that none have been omitted, and that two of the same sheet have not been taken in mistake.

The collated sheets are, in most cases, folded into thicker heaps, called 'quires,' and subjected to the action of a very powerful hydraulic press, Fig. 13, which acts thus:—A pailful of water is put into a reservoir, *a*, and is thence pumped, by the agency of the pumps, *b*, through the pipe *c*, to an air-tight reservoir *d*. A piston *e*, thereby forced upwards, compresses the mass of paper *f* between the upper and lower beds of the press. By opening a cock *g*, the water can be let out of the air-tight reservoir, and the pressure removed. So astonishing is the force of this machine that

estimated value is not much less than *half a million sterling!* and even the plates, valued as old metal, are estimated at seventy thousand pounds. The weight of metal is, perhaps, almost as astonishing as the value; for it is reckoned at two thousand five hundred tons; that is, between five and six millions of pounds avoirdupois! As an example of the mode in which this enormous accumulation is brought about, let us instance the 'Penny Magazine.' Eleven volumes of this work have contained about five thousand six hundred pages, every one of which has had a stereotype plate cast for it alone; and there are now stored in the warehouse at Messrs. Clowes's all these five thousand six hundred plates, which, at 7 pounds weight each, amount to 39,200 pounds. The stereotype plates for the 'Penny Cyclopædia' amount to more than double of this in number and weight.

All these plates, belonging to numerous works which command a large sale, are ranged on shelves in presses or cases, the presses being built parallel, with avenues or passages between them, lighted by a few candles for the convenience of the warehouse-keeper. It is certainly a noiseless, an unobtrusive apartment, but it is one which makes a visitor marvel at the results which skill, enterprise, and capital have been able to obtain in the art of printing.

Another warehouse contains the woodcuts, the blocks on which wood-engravings have been executed. Whether impressions be taken from the blocks themselves, or from stereotype plates cast from the blocks, the blocks are carefully preserved, classified, and labelled in a convenient manner. Another instance of stationary capital is here afforded. Eighty thousand blocks are deposited in the woodcut warehouse, the average value of which is estimated at three pounds each—making an aggregate sum of nearly a quarter of a million sterling!

Finally, we come to that one of the three cases where, for

viz., what becomes of the types, the wood-blocks, and the stereotype plates, when the whole of the book is printed? The reply to this question will carry us into two or three departments of the establishment not yet visited. We stated in a former page, that there are three modes of arranging for a reprint of any given work : to keep the metal types standing in 'forms' or collected pages; to prepare stereotype plates or copies, which can be used instead of the original type; or to re-compose the type just as in the first instance. We also stated that it depends a great deal on the nature and success of a work as to which of these methods is adopted.

Let us begin with the first. Such a vast capital is lying dead if the type for a book be kept in 'form' or undisturbed, that it is rarely done. One of the exceptions relates to certain parliamentary papers for which there may be a sudden demand, and which are kept in 'form.' Another exception is where the printer agrees with the publisher that he will keep the type of a new book in 'form' for a certain period, during which the publisher may be enabled to make a guess as to the probable sale of his book, and the cheapest way of supplying it. As such an arrangement as this is advantageous to the publisher, and entails a heavy stagnation of capital on the part of the printer, a stipulated price is paid for it. Some of the warerooms of this establishment are loaded with many tons of type kept in this undisturbed state.

In the next place as to the stereotype plates. When an edition of a work has been printed, the plates are all wrapped separately in paper (each page of the book having a distinct plate), and then stored away in a warehouse, properly marked and labelled. The stereotype warehouse affords a most striking example of the value which metal acquires when mental and mechanical ingenuity has been bestowed upon it. In this one apartment are collected stereotype plates, whose

Memoir

OF

THE LATE WILLIAM CLOWES,

THE FOUNDER OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

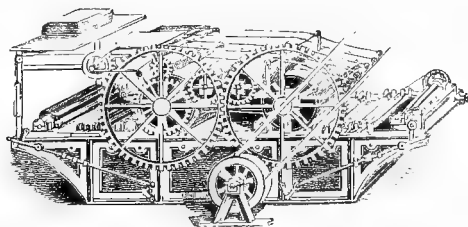
~~~~~  
(FROM 'THE NATIONAL CYCLOPEDIA'.)  
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MR. WILLIAM CLOWES was born at Chichester, January 1, 1779, and died January 26, 1847. The father of Mr. Clowes was educated at Oxford, and kept a large school at Chichester; but he died when the subject of this notice was an infant, leaving his widow to support two children with straitened means. She was enabled, by keeping a small school, to give her son a business education; and he was apprenticed to Mr. Seagrave, a printer at Chichester. He came to London in 1802, and worked as a compositor with Mr. Teape, of Tower Hill. In 1803 he commenced business on his own account in Villiers Street, Strand, on a capital of 350*l*. He purchased one press; engaged one assistant; and after working as a compositor through the day, would often, for two or three consecutive nights, toil at press, to have his small stock of type free for the next day's demand. It was this energy of character that raised Mr. Clowes to his subsequent eminence. Fortune favoured his exertions. He married, when he was of the age of twenty-four, a cousin of Mr. Winchester, a stationer, who had much Government

each successive edition of a book (if more than one be required), the type has to be set up anew. This is the most usual system; and the wages of compositors are regulated by this method. Under this arrangement, directly all the copies of a work have been printed, the 'form' of types is washed in an alkaline solution, loosened, and the types 'distributed' again into their places. The compositor takes up a small heap at a time, and, holding it in an ingenious manner in his left hand, drops the letters with his right, one by one, into the several cells of his 'case.' The accuracy and celerity with which this is effected are not the least astonishing among the operations of a printing-office; for a clever compositor can distribute fifty thousand letters per day into their respective cells. The mind and the fingers curiously assist one another in this operation; for the former has to follow the order of the letters in the words, and to select the cell into which each shall be dropped, while the latter have to separate one letter from another, taking care that only one letter is dropped at a time.

We have thus briefly described the interesting processes usually submitted to a visitor's inspection in this great establishment, and will conclude with the remark that among the numerous hives of industry which we have examined, not one has left upon our mind a more gratifying or more durable impression.

with undeviating regularity for fourteen years from his printing-office. Mr. Clowes was not a common man. His powers of arrangement were most acute; he was at once bold and prudent. He was one of those few men who would not recognise the word 'impossible' as one to be lightly employed. He who in 1803 had a few hundredweight of type to be worked from day to day like a banker's gold, would not hesitate, in the height of his prosperous career, to have tons of type locked up for months in some ponderous blue-book. To print an Official Report of a hundred folio pages in a day or night, or of a thousand pages in a week, was no uncommon occurrence. Mr. Clowes's name will not be associated with the honours of the great classical printers; his was another ambition. He lived in an age when knowledge was to become the inheritance of the many; and he furnished the means of carrying out this literary revolution in a more efficient manner than any of his professional competitors. His name will be permanently associated with the intellectual development of our time.



business; and by him he was recommended for important official work. His punctual industry and obliging and kindly disposition brought friends around him, and in a few years the humble beginner with one press had a considerable printing-office in Northumberland Court. This office was burnt down; but a larger rose in its place. In 1823 he commenced steam-printing. He had two or three machines in a dark cellar; and, the process being novel, his office had many visitors of literary reputation. Mr. Clowes was always a signal example of the honest ardour of manufacturing enterprise, to lead the way under new circumstances. He saw that newspapers were printed by steam; and he estimated the possibility that books might be demanded in sufficiently large numbers to make the new invention of more universal application than was at first considered probable. An action brought by the Duke of Northumberland, whose palace was close to Mr. Clowes's printing-office, to abate the steam-press as a nuisance, was successfully defended; but the printer removed his noise and his dirt, under the award of arbitrators; and the decision was a fortunate one for him. In 1826 he became the occupier of the spacious and well-known premises in Duke Street, Stamford Street. In the course of years the humble establishment of the young Sussex compositor grew into 25 steam-presses and 28 hand-presses, giving employ to 600 persons, in the largest, most complete, and well-organised printing manufactory that had ever existed in the world. The creation of a literature that should at once reconcile the apparently dissimilar qualities of goodness and cheapness, through a demand for books before unprecedented, gave a considerable impulse to the energies of Mr. Clowes. 'The Penny Magazine' and 'The Penny Cyclopædia' issued

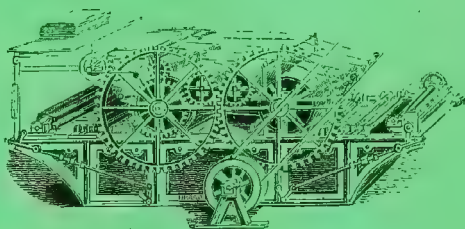
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A DESCRIPTION
OF
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DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET.

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